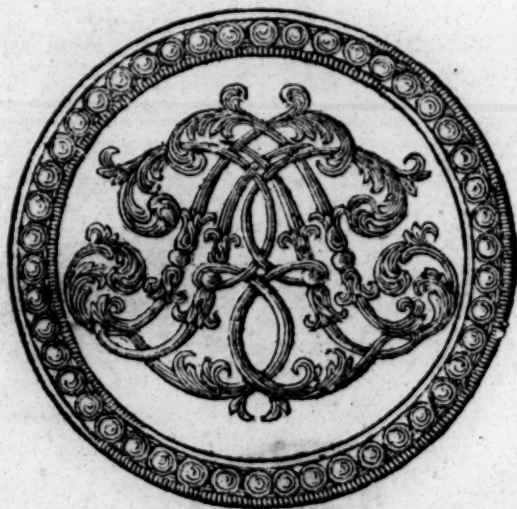


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A
Second LETTER
TO
Dr. MEAD,
CONCERNING
A New EDITION
OF
Thuanus's *History*.

Buckley



L O N D O N :

Printed by Sam. Buckley in Amen-Corner. 1728.

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To Dr. Mead.

S I R,

IN a Letter addressed to you the Beginning of this Year, I gave some Account of the several Editions extant of THUANUS's History, and of the Plan I had formed for a new Edition of it ; and I promised to lay before you, in another Letter, the particular Use that should be made of the Collections which I was then procuring, chiefly from *France*, for improving that new Edition. I will now acquit myself in some Measure, of that Promise ; in the best, that is, in the plainest, Manner, I can,

I took Notice in my former, p. 2. that ' the first Edition of any Part of *Thuanus's* History, was at *Paris*, ' in *Folio*, by the Widow of *Patisson* in 1604. and having afterwards enumerated the several Editions printed at *Paris* during the Life of the Author, I said, p. 18. ' That every successive Edition *there* had some ' Alterations in it from the former. ' I am now to acquaint you, that the Reasons which have at any Time been publickly given for those Alterations, were first inserted in the Preface to *Drouart's* Edition in *Duodecimo*, and afterwards repeated in the Preface to *Rob. Stephens's Folio*, viz.

— H U J U S C E operis auctorem non tantum orbis universi memorias cura pæne supra modum anxia sollicitare oportuit : verumetiam populorum externarumque gentium aures et judicia consulere ; ac sciscitari, num discurrante multiplicis historiæ filo quædam exotica peregrino schemate obvoluta gravibus officiis occupatum ac sæpenumero aliud agere coactum fefellissent ; quæ tamen antequam opus suum posteritati sanciendum permetteret, sagacissime requiri suoque ordine digeri operæ pretium fore judicaret ; itaque, quod olim eximium pingendi artificem factitasse narrant, unam et alteram editionem proposuit, velut in pergula, transeuntibus, auscultaturus si quæ forte retractanda vel acrius pervidenda notarentur. Quippe historia, sicut pictura, bono quidem in

lumine collocanda est ; sed tanto probanda, quanto ad propositum exemplar, id est, veritatem, accedit.— Igitur infrunitas eorum vocolas, qui rigidum historici tenorem ab inanibus aretalogi fabulis differre noluerunt aut nesciverunt, vir intaminati candoris et incorruptæ fidei pro nihilo duxit. quæ vero sapienter ab viris in existimando prudentibus, quales ipse etiam atque etiam rogat, ut in publica scriptione castiganda vel locupletanda operam navare porro nec ambitiose pergant, animadversa sunt, sedulo collegit : iisque — probatis ac pensitatis ^{tertiâ} ^{quartâ} concinnavit editionem locis aliquot inculcatam atque resectam ; quam adeo ceteris posthac uspiam cudendis pro archetypo esse velit, et vero jubeat ; præsertim quum à prioribus nihil variet, nisi qua locupletior auctiorque, aut qua etiam fortasse accuratior atque limatior.

This, I say, is all that has been communicated to the Publick by *Thuanus*, (or whoever else it was that wrote the said Prefaces,) on this Subject of Alterations made in the several Editions of his History printed at *Paris*. And what was thus communicated, was true : For, by several Letters of *Thuanus* to Men of Eminence and Men of Learning of divers Nations, and by many of their Answers, (which we have in M.S.) it appears, that *Thuanus* did sollicit their Advice and Information, and follow them so far as he judged them right.

One thing therefore that I have to set down, as an Improvement of the proposed Edition of *Thuanus*, is, a Collection, in Order of Time, of all the Passages at large in such Letters, printed or M.S., as do in any wise relate to Alterations or Corrections of his History.

But there were other Reasons (concealed by the Writer of the foresaid Prefaces) that induced *Thuanus* to make some, and those the principal, Alterations, in the first Part of his History.

M. *Colomies*, (whose Recommendation of *Patissou's* first Volume of *Thuanus* in Folio, is mentioned in my former p. 2.) just hints at those Reasons. I will give you all he says on that Subject. [See his *Bibliothèque choisie*, among the rest of his Works collected by *Fabricius* and published together at *Hamburg*, in Quarto, 1709, p. 400.] ‘ *Jac. Aug. Thuani Historiarum sui Temporis pars prima*, *Paris. apud Patissonium* 1604. Fol. ‘ *Quelque edition que l'on ait de l'Histoire de M. de*
‘ *Thou,*

' *Thou*, il faut y joindre ces dix-huit premiers livres
 ' imprimez chez *Patisson*, à cause de certains endroits
 ' qui ne se rencontrent point dans les autres éditions.
 ' Pour en donner quelque goust au Lecteur, j'en pro-
 ' duirai ici un exemple. M. de *Thou* faisant l'Eloge
 ' d'*Isidore Clarius*, Moine du *Mont Cassin*, et ensuite
 ' Evêque de *Foligni*, qui mourut en reputation de
 ' sainteté, dit, que *quadraginta horis ad deosculatio-*
 ' *nem patuit, quod minimè voluisset*. Ces derniers mots
 ' *quod minimè voluisset*, ne se trouvent que dans
 ' l'édition de *Patisson*, qui pour de pareils traits ne fut
 ' pas fort bien receüe à Rome. Voici ce que nous en
 ' apprend l'illustre *Pierre du Puy*, (qui a esté depuis Bi-
 ' bliothecaire de sa Majesté, conjointement avec M. de
 ' S. Sauveur son frère) dans une Lettre à *Scaliger*, de
 ' Paris le 11 Janvier 1607. La premiere partie de
 ' l'Histoire de M. de *Thou* a eu mille traverses à Rome
 ' de s'eschapper de la Censure. Mon frere (c'est *Chri-*
 ' *stophe du Puy*, qui est mort Chartreux) y a servi
 ' M. de *Thou* comme son devoir l'y obligeoit. M. le
 ' Card. du Perron, avec lequel il est maintenant, a
 ' montré combien il estoit amy de M. de *Thou*, et qu'il
 ' l'affectionnoit grandement, ayant commandé à ce *Sci-*
 ' *oppius* de se taire, qui vouloit, au livre qu'il a fait
 ' contre vous, escrire contre le dit Seigneur President,
 ' sur ce qu'il loue en son histoire plusieurs grands Person-
 ' nages, comme *Phil. Melancthon*, *M. Casaubon* et au-
 ' tres. Les Cardinaux *Sforce* et *Seraphin* ont aussi fort
 ' defendu ce livre.

M. *Colomies* had formed but a very obscure and im-
 perfect Notion from what M. *du Puy* says in the Pas-
 sage he quotes, (which Passage he might have told us he
 took from the *Epistres à Mons. de la Scala* published
 by *Reves* at *Harderwyck* in 1624. :) And accordingly
 he has singled out an Example as he calls it, that is
 but a dark Proof of *Patisson's* Edition being (as he fee-
 bly expresses it) *pas fort bien receüe à Rome* ; when
 indeed he might have found other Passages in that Edi-
 tion, much stronger, and more offensive and galling
 to the Court of Rome, that were left out of the suc-
 ceeding Editions.

The Writer of the *Melanges de l'Histoire et de Lit-*
terature, which go under the Name of M. *De Vigneul-*
Marville,

Marville, tells us, in such Terms as shew he only copied what *Colomnes* had said many Years before him, that *Christophe du Puy* rendit service à Rome à M. de Thou, à l'Occasion de la premiere partie de son Histoire, que la Congregation de l'Indice vouloit condamner et ranger au nombre des Livres Heretiques, p. 254. Tom. I. dern. Ed. Paris. And the last Paris Edition of *Morey's* Dictionary, in 6 Vol. Fol. 1725. does but copy literally after *De Vigneul-Marville*. Nor have I met with any other Author who pursues this Point to a further Explanation.

But we have a Collection of Letters of M. de Thou in M.S. that are very explicit on this Subject : As they are also very instructive, and exhibit a lively Image and Character of the Author and his Work, I am perswaded, Sir, the following Specimen of them, tho' large, will not be the less acceptable to you.

Extracts of some of the Letters written by M. de Thou to M. Chr. du Puy, and others, at Rome, &c.

To M. du Puy. 24 Jan. 1604. ' Je crois que ' Monseigneur le Cardinal [de Joyeuse, with whom M. du Puy lived at that Time] aura reçu mon ' Histoire, et qu'il en aura baillé un exemplaire ' à Monseigneur le Cardinal d'Osset. Je ne doute ' point, qu'elle ne soit soigneusement examinée, voire ' usque ad calumniam. Je vous prie de recueillir diligemment ce que en apprendrez, et me le ' faire scavoir. — Je vous prie d'aller saluer de ma ' part le Cardinal d'Osset, et prendre garde à ce qu'il ' vous dira de mon Histoire. Je pense bien qu'il m'en ' écrira, mais je serai bien aise de scavoir d'ailleurs ' ce que il vous en pourra dire en privé.

To M. du Puy. 25 Feb. 1604. ' Je ne doute ' point que l'on n'y retrouve fort à redire par de- ' là, principalement es endroits où je parle des Papes ' Jules 2, Paul 3, Jules 3. sur la fin du qua- ' trieme Livre, et au commencement du suivant ; et ' aussi de la Legation du Cardinal Caraff, et où il est ' fait mention de M. Charles Du Moulin. Mais j'ay ' écrit en France, et durant les troubles. Je vous prie ' de recueillir soigneusement ce que vous en oirez dire, ' afin que s'il y a chose en quoy je puisse satisfaire, la ' verité et la dignité de la France sûre, aux Esprits de ' delà, je m'efforce de leur donner contentement en la
pro-

prochaine Edition qui se commence déjà. — Il y en a bien d'autres qui pour autres respects m'ont voulu abimer par deçà : Mais sa Majesté m'a defendu jusques icy ; et par l'approbation publique qu'elle a faite de l'Oeuvre, a fait cesser les clameurs de beaucoup de malveillans.

To Card. de Joyeuse. — Feb. 1604. ' Il y a deux endroits que je n'ay eu loisir de considerer qu'après l'oeuvre du tout imprimé : l'un sur la fin du quatrieme livre, et l'autre sur le commencement du suivant, que je voudrois en estre retranchés ; et de cette heure ce qui y est dict et escrit *indictum et non scriptum volo*, touchant les P. P. Paul 3. et Jules 3 ; car encores que cela soit pris des escrits lors divulgués en Italie, toutesfois je reconnois que la memoire en doit estre sobrement refrainte pour la reverence du S. S. en laquelle j'ai tousjours vescu et veux mourir, estimant que les moeurs ne nous doivent jamais empescher de rendre l'obeissance que nous y devons pour la doctrine et la discipline. Cela soit dit, s'il vous plaist, non seulement pour ces deux lieux, mais pour autres aussi si aucuns se trouvent. J'espere en la prochaine Edition, qui est ja sur la presse, satisfaire à ce que l'on pourroit requerir en cela.

To M. du Puy. 3 April, 1604. ' La nouvelle de la mort de Monseigneur le Cardinal d'Osset est arrivée icy, laquelle a fort troublé cette Cour. S. M. en a porté un grand Regret, comme ayant perdu un Serviteur et Ministre tres digne. — En mon particulier, j'ay perdu un amy singulier. — Quant à *migravit ad meliorem vitam*, je ne me souviens pas de l'avoir dit de Sectaires manifestes, et faisant profession de la Theologie : Peutetre que cela se pourra trouver estre dit de quelque Allemand excellent es autres Sciences, et qui paraventure estoit Protestant, ce que je n'ay consideré lorsque j'ay ainsi parlé de son decès. D'ailleurs la Charité Chretienne nous oblige d'esperer meme, de ceux qui ne sont Heresiarches, et qui nés de Peres Sectaires pensent, en tant de lieux où ce mal a pris pied, en leur Erreur faire leur Salut. Je n'en parle en Theologien, ains en homme qui a compassion de l'homme, et qui par les loix du tems et du Royaume, est obligé

à vivre avec les hommes. — On travaille déjà à la seconde édition de mon histoire ; de laquelle je ne faudray à vous envoyer la première partie, qui sera en plus commode forme, c'est à dire en 8vo ; il y aura quelque chose de changé, ou plutôt adouci : Car de dire autrement les choses qu'elles ne sont, ou dissimuler lachement la vérité, j'en ferois Conscience.

To M. du Puy. Nov. 14, 1604. ' L'on s'offense de ce qui est écrit du Conclave de Jules 3. Sur ce je vous prie de prendre garde que l'on ne s'arrête à la première Edition in Folio, de laquelle il y eut peu d'exemplaires imprimés, en mon absence, ou occupé ailleurs, tellement que je ne pûs vaquer à les revoir, et que ce qui fut lors imprimé du dit Conclave, étoit en la Copie trassé ; mais les Libraires ne laisserent de le mettre : Et pour preuve de cela vous prendrez garde, qu'en la seconde Edition il n'y a un seul mot du dit Conclave, ains seulement est fait mention de l'indigne choix qui fut fait du Cardinal de Monte, chose trop notoire non seulement à Rome, mais par tout le monde, pour pouvoir être omise. Cela servira d'avertissement à celui qui a charge de revoir le Livre, de distinguer les deux Editions, et s'attacher seulement à la seconde. [What Thuanus says here of Patisson's Edition having been printed in son absence, ou occupé ailleurs, &c. was the genuine Truth. For when his Dedication to K. Hen. IV. came to be printed, (which was after the rest of that Volume had been worked off, and before it was published) he subjoined to that Dedication the following Advertisement. *Lectori. Hæc te Auctor scire vult, ipso aut absente, aut aliis negotiis occupato, hos libros magnam partem editos, ita ut eos recognoscere non potuerit: Itaque in nominibus et rebus ipsis, præter operarum errata, alicubi peccatum esse; quæ omnia corrigi et suæ et publicæ utilitatis intersit; idque ut ab altera Editione expectes, enixe rogat.*] Quant à la Preface, elle a été faite pour tout l'Oeuvre; et pour ce que je savois que la façon modérée dont je parlois des Protestans seroit mal interprétée d'aucuns, je me suis étendu dès le Commencement sur ce Sujet, pour m'excuser, et rendre raison de tout l'Oeuvre. — Faites mettre en considération, que ceux de la Maison de Bourbon tiennent cette Histoire comme

faite pour montrer la Justice de leur Cause, contre ceux qui ont voulu entreprendre contre eux et leur Maison pour le passé : Tellement que si l'on luy donne quelque atteinte, ils estimeront l'injure faite à eux ; et que ceux qui s'en sont plaint à tort par decà, et n'ont rien obtenu, auront fait faire par Rome, par les Supports et Faveurs qu'ils y ont, tout ce qui s'en ensuivra. Ce qui renouvellera les playes anciennes, et fera croire à ceux de *Bourbon*, que leurs Ennemis ont plus de credit à Rome qu'eux.

To M. du Puy. 10 Feb. 1605. Speaking of Cardinal *Seraphin*, he says, ' Il considerera, s'il luy plait, en quel tems, et de quels tems j'ai ecrits. J'ay été tousjours *Francois*, et Serviteur des Rois et de ceux de la Maison Royale, et non jamais Pensionnaire ni partisan d'autres. Tout ce qui leur a été contraire, a été contraire à mon affection. Avec perte de mes biens, et au hazard de ma vie, je les ay suivi aux armées, et par tout ailleurs, durant ces calamiteuses guerres. Je n'ai pourtant rien donné à la grace ni à la haine en ecrivant l'histoire ; mais j'ay osé plus librement dire la verité, et en conserver la Memoire à la Posterité, qu'un autre en craignant l'envie, *aut obnoxius*, n'eut voulu faire. Je ne doute point que par delà je ne semble à beaucoup avoir trop librement, voire hardiment, ecrit en certaines choses ; mais il a été besoin que plusieurs par decà aient eu cette meme hardiesse, et memes Sentiments de l'Etat, pour conserver l'Etat et aider à le preserver du peril, ou ceux qui nous etoient contraires l'avoient mis. Dieu enfin a jugé le different ; et la Justice de la Cause qui commença a etre connue des lors, c'est à dire il y a 45 ans, a été decidée et connue par l'heureux succès qu'il a pleu à Dieu donner à ceux qui ont suivi l'ordre et les loix du Royaume.

To M. du Puy. 20 Sept. 1605. ' Je ne doute pas qu'il n'y ait beaucoup à redire, et prendrai tousjours de bonne part d'etre averti, comme je l'ai été ja d'*Angleterre* et d'*Allemagne* ; pourvû que ce soit sans convicte, et avec la meme Candeur que j'ai ecrit. — Vous avez par delà Messieurs les Cardinaux *Seraphin* et du Perron, qui peuyent l'avoir

lue, auxquels vous pourrez adresser, si vous apprenez que le *Maitre du Palais* (*in whose Name are published the Decrees, notifying what Books are censured by the Congregation of the Inquisitors*) veuille passer plus avant que la Liberté permise es Histoires ne peut souffrir.

To M. du Puy. 29 Novemb. 1605. Je crois avoir satisfait en partie à ce que m'écriviez, et fait des Ouvertures qui seront trouvées raisonnables ; apres lesquelles si on passe outre, je suis de libéré de me soucier aussi peu de ce qui s'en ensuivra, que je me suis montré equitable pour éviter une injuste Censure.

To M. du Puy. 12 Feb. 1606. Vous m'écriviez que l'on ne toucheroit à la Preface (*i. e. the Dedication to King Henry IV.*) ; seulement que l'on estimoit que prematurement se faisoit en icelle mention de l'Edit de Pacification (*the famous Edict of Nantes*) d'autant que le tems n'étoit encor venu en cette premiere partie d'en parler ; à quoy je vous repond, que la Preface étoit faite pour tout l'Oeuvre, et pour excuser d'autres choses que je prevoiois que dès cette premiere partie l'on pourroit reprendre ; comme les Eloges des Hommes de Lettres, et principalement des *Allemands*, desquels la plus grande Part sont Protestans ; mais ce n'est ce que je recommande en eux, ains seulement l'Erudition ; ou bien si j'ay parlé honorablement d'aucuns Theologiens, comme *Melancthon*, dont l'on s'offense tant, c'a été pour remarquer sa moderation telle que les Catholiques même l'ont reconnu propre pour une Conference et Reconciliation. — Il est bien aisé à ceux qui sont loing du Peril de prononcer si hardiment en telles choses, et blamer ceux qui embrassent le repos, et le veulent persuader à leurs Concitoyens. Et cependant où est la Charité ? n'a-t-on point de pitie de 40 années passées pleines de continuelles miseres ? n'a-t-on point horreur de la perte des *Pays Bas* advenue par cette obstination forcenée ? Nous pouvons estre ici bons Catholiques et obeissans quant à la Doctrine au S. S. sans tenir cette sanglante Proposition, qu'il faille par la force et par les armes etablir la Religion. Voila pourquoy je ne repentiray jamais d'en avoir dit en la place ou je suis
ce

ce que j'en ai tousjours dit; moins de ce que j'en ai écrit. — Je suis resolu d'attendre tout ce que l'on voudra en ordonner, avec une patience chretienne, et ennemie de toute division; mais qui ne cedera qu'à la raison.

To Cardinal du Perron. 12 June 1606. ' Je vous remercie tres humblement du temoignage qu'il vous a plu rendre de moi, et la vraye et juste raison qu'il vous a plu aussi apporter de ce que je parle si moderement d'aucuns dont le nom ne peut estre entendu qu'avec offense au lieu où vous êtes. Il y a difference de la religion, et de la doctrine hors la religion. J'ay loué l'une, et passé legerement l'autre, de peur de violer les loix sous lesquelles nous vivons en paix; lesquelles si tous sont obligés de garder, et plus ceux qui ont esté employés à les faire.

[M. de Thou was the principal Person employed in settling the Edict of Nantes; concerning which he writes to Card. Sforza in the following Terms, in a Letter dated 14 July 1608. ' J'ai apprehendé que ce reste du Roy Charles fust moins bien receu au lieu ou vous estes, pour le subject des confusions qui s'y voient. Mais il doit estre pardonné à ceux qui en ont senti si long temps depuis, et en sentent encores le mal, d'en parler plus librement: mal, qui ne se peut guerir que par une longue suite d'années en paix, et par le reestablishement inviolable de la foi publique. Je n'en dirai rien d'avantage, encores que j'y sois obligé, et pour la justification de ce que j'en ai escrit, et pour avoir esté employé par S. M. au traité de l'Edict dernier qui s'est fait pour ce regard; encores que pour éviter l'envie j'eusse fait tout mon possible pour en estre excusé. Vous, Monseigneur, qui jugés plus sincerement de telles affaires, que ceux qui sont nourris en la poudre des livres, me ferés, s'il vous plaist, en cela protecteur, et empescherés par votre bonté ja de moi experimentée, quel'innocence ne soit opprimée de la calomnie, et ferez que la liberté demeure à ceux qui sont obligés de dire la verité.]

Cardinal du Perron to M. de Thou; from Rome, 12 July, 1606. ' Je ne puis, que je ne me sente fort obligé, à l'occasion qui m'a donné sujet de vous servir, au fait de vostre livre, puis que les remerciements, qu'il vous a pleu m'en rendre, par vostre

lettre, sont si honorables, qu'ils meritent eux-mesmes,
 mille remerciements. J'ai toute ma vie autant prisé
 et estimé vos vertus, que personne du monde ; mais
 ceste mienne estime, que je pensois estre au comble,
 et à la cime de sa perfection, a esté encore beaucoup
 augmentée, par le lustre que j'ay reconnu, que vos
 écrits apportent à nostre siècle. C'est pourquoy, j'ay
 creu devoir, d'autant plus ayder à procurer, que le
 public en jouisse, pleinement, et universellement.
 Ils sont grandement honorez, par tout : mais j'oseray
 dire, et le diray veritablement, qu'ils le sont plus en
 Italie, de ceux qui les ont veus, qu'en aucun autre
 lieu de l'Europe. Messieurs les Cardinaux *Aquaviva*,
Visconti, *Sforse*, et autres de ce College, qui ont l'es-
 prit élevé, par dessus la portée ordinaire des hommes,
 ne se peuvent lasser de les loier, et celebrer, et de
 les mettre au premier rang, apres *Salluste*, *Tacite*,
 et autres anciennes lumieres de l'histoire Latine. Et
 pourtant, avez-vous grand interest, que le vol de
 leur gloire, ne soit point raccourcy, et que les copies
 s'en distribuent librement en ceste Province, qui est
 le plus resonant, et réplendissant Theatre du monde,
 et où ils sont receus et desirez, avec tant d'applau-
 dissement. C'est chose qui se fera, sans beaucoup de
 mutation. J'en ay parlé, par diverses fois, au Pape,
 luy representant le merite de l'œuvre, et la condition
 du temps, où il a esté écrit, asçavoir, durant les der-
 niers troubles, pendant lesquels, ceux qui aimoient la
 conservation de l'Estat, et en apprehendoient la ru-
 ine, qui estoit toute proche et imminente, tendoient
 plustost à maintenir en union, les esprits qui affec-
 tionnoient la défense commune de leur patrie, qu'à
 les aigrir et diviser, par toucher lors severement, les
 ulceres de la Religion. Sa Sainteté m'a monstre,
 d'en faire le cas qu'il convient, et de desirer que l'on
 y procede, avec toute la douceur, respect, et discre-
 tion, dont sont dignes les vertus et qualitez de l'œuvre,
 et de l'auteur. De maniere que je croy, que l'une
 des bonnes fortunes de vostre livre, aura esté ce peu
 d'opposition, qu'il a trouvée au commencement ;
 d'autant que cest obstacle aura servy à le faire voir,
 estimer, et admirer par deçà, et à faire desirer, comme
 l'on fait avec impatience, que le troisieme Tome
 sorte bien tost en lumiere. [He means, by troisieme,
 that Part which follows the Drouarts first two Vo-
 lumes in 8vo.]

Among

Among our M.S. Collections are Letters from other Cardinals to M. de Thou ; but it is not necessary to swell the Specimen I am giving you, with any Extracts of them.

M. de Thou to M. du Puy. 14 Aug. 1606. ' Je vous prie de remercier M. le Card. du Perron de la lettre qu'il m'a écrite, en laquelle il ajoute à ceux que m'aviez averti qui me faisoient l'honneur de ne defavorizer mon travail, le Cardinal *Aquaviva*. Je loue Dieu, si en oeuvre entrepris pour le public je n'ay pû plaire à tous, au moins que je n'ay déplû à ceux desquels la grandeur d'esprit, conjointe à la splendeur de la race, peut mieux juger de telles choses, que le commun des esprits élevés en bas lieux, quelque erudition que par étude ils ayent acquise ; c'est à ceux là que j'appelleray, quand les autres me condamneront. Mais la posterité en donnera le jugement définitif.

To Card. du Perron, 22 Aug. 1607. ' Je n'ay point de paroles suffisantes pour exprimer l'obligation que je vous sens avoir, pour avoir voulu de telle affection prendre ma cause contre ceux qui echauffoient l'affaire sur des memoires envoyés de ce lieu ; je laisse à votre prudence à examiner avec quelle charité et intention. — Mon innocence et ma conscience me consolent, et me fortifient contre tous ces artifices, appuyées sur la bonne volonté de ceux qui me connoissent au dedans, comme vous. Je reconnois que le tems auquel j'ay écrit, et ma liberté naturelle, me peuvent avoir quelquefois emporté, mais sans haine, dont j'appelle Dieu à témoin, et moins avec mepris de ce que je dois venerer. Vous savez que je n'ay jamais vacillé en la Religion de mes Peres, c'est à dire en la Catholique, en laquelle je veux vivre et mourir ; mais j'ay parlé librement de ceux qui se servoient de la Religion pour en faire une Cape à l'*Espagnol*, et couvrir leur ambition. Je ne pouvois louer les vertus, sans noter par reflexion les vices. Je n'ay touché par cela, ni entendu en rien toucher, la reverence du lieu et des personnes ; *non loca, sed mores scriptis vexavi*. — Toutesfois, d'autant que je dois plus à autrui qu'à moimême, je ne refuse d'être admonesté et recevoir les avertissements qu'il vous plaira en particulier me donner, afin qu'avec ce peu de mutation que vous dites, l'oeuvre puisse

* puisse estre lu par tout. Cependant j'ai pris la hardiesse de vous envoyer quelques exemplaires de la seconde partie, pour les faire voir à qui des Messieurs les Cardinaux vous trouverez à propos. Il s'y pourra trouver quelques particularités touchant nos droits qui pouront déplaire; et toutesfois écrivant l'histoire du tems, je n'ai pû omettre ces choses publiques. — Vous qui êtes né *François*, et avez toujours suivi le parti *François*, excuserez aisément cela: Mais je crains fort que ceux qui ignorent nos droits et nos libertés, ne le prennent de si bonne part: C'est pourquoi j'implore derechef votre prudence et votre protection en ce fait, et semblables; vous suppliant de croire, que comme je n'ay rien écrit pour flater, aussi n'ai je eu intention de blesser ni offenser personne.

To M. du Puy. 15 Sept. 1607. * L'on parle ici que Monseig. le Card. *du Perron* veut changer d'air; faites en sorte devant son parlement que mon affaire soit mise en tel état, que les brouillons ne puissent la traverser.

About the Time you see this last Letter is dated, viz. in September 1607, Cardinal *du Perron* left Rome, taking with him *M. Chr. du Puy*, and returned to Paris.

Tho' the Extracts you have read may seem large, yet remember, Sir, they are but Extracts; and be assured that when the Letters are printed intire, as they shall be, (with several others on the same Subject, of which it was unnecessary to give Extracts here) you will find many other excellent Things in them.

You will be pleased to recollect, that the Letter from *Pet. du Puy* to *Jos. Scaliger*, quoted by *Colomies*, is dated 11 Jan. 1607. when, and for some Months after (as appears by the foregoing Extracts) *Pet. du Puy* might truly say *que son Frère avoit servi M. de Thou*. But here it must be observed, that the Representations and good Offices which Card. *du Perron* and *Chr. du Puy*, and some Cardinals their Friends, had so long interposed in favour of *Thuanus*, did in the end prove all ineffectual: For in 1609 his History was condemned by the Court of Rome. The following Passages of a Letter from *Thuanus* to the famous President *Jeannin*, dated *prid. Kal. Apr. 1611*, added to the Extracts of Letters which you have just been reading, sets this whole Affair in sufficient Light.

* Pub-

Publicatâ primâ parte [Historiæ meæ] immane
 quam commoti sunt plerique sive invidi, sive factiosi,
 qui mox Proceres quosdam, qui per se in talibus re-
 bus nihil vident, per calumnias artificiose confectas, ut
 scis, in me concitaverunt, remque é vestigio Romam
 detulerunt, et autore maligne exagitato, facile pervi-
 cerunt, ut morosi illi censores, omnia mea sinistrè in-
 terpretarentur, et præjudicio personæ opus integrum,
 cujus ne tertiam quidem partem legerant, præcipitato
 ordine damnarent. — Rex causam meam initio quidem
 tuebatur, quamdiu proceres in aulâ infestos habui.
 Sed — paulatim ipse eorundem astu infractus est; cog-
 nitoque Romæ per emissarios labare regem, post Os-
 sati et Serafini Cardinalium mihi amicissimorum obi-
 tum, et illustrissimi Perronii ex urbe discessum, ictus
 postremo in me directus est, qui facile vitari potuit,
 si qui circa regem erant, tantæ injuriæ sensum ad se
 ac regni dignitatem pertinere, vel minimâ significati-
 one præ se tulissent. — Ita in aulâ omni spe
 destitutus, facile Romæ oppressus sum; ubi hæc duo tela
 simul in me ab emissariis coniecta sunt, edicti videlicet
 in protestantium gratiam facti procuratum negotium,
 et usurpata in propugnandis regni juribus ac scriben-
 dâ Historiâ libertas calo Romano hodie non ferenda,
 quæ censuram illam in me decretam postremo matu-
 raverunt.

Thuanus tells the President Jeannin, *Rex causam meam initio quidem tuebatur, quamdiu proceres in aulâ infestos habui*: And I beg Leave to detain you a little longer upon this Subject, to shew you how candidly and dutifully our Author submitted his Work to that Prince's Judgement, and how fairly and honourably he gained his Approbation and Protection of it.

In his Dedication, after having complimented the King upon his restoring the Peace of the Kingdom, and giving its Laws their due Force and Currency, he goes on in these honest Expressions, *Tibi persuade, mentem et animum et consilium et sententiam civitatis in legibus positam esse, — atque adeo magistratus et judices legum ministros et interpretes esse; denique nos omnes Legum servos esse, ut liberi esse possimus*. And then he proceeds thus: *Hujus Libertatis te rege consequendæ spe fretus, ejusdemque per te recuperatæ postea beneficio usus, in media rerum confusione, et post sedatas tur-*
bas,

bas, historiam hujus ævi scripsi ; cujus primam partem nunc publici juris facio, tuoque augustissimo nomini do dedicoque, justissimis de causis quæ et me et rem ipsam spectant. Dignitatem meam a decessore tuo beatæ memoriæ Principe inchoatam, a te in majus provectam, ingratus sim ni meminerim. Cumque in castris et in aula assiduus essem, plerisque magnis negotiis a te præpositus sum, ex quorum tractatione magnam mihi multarum rerum, quæ ad id, quod præ manibus est, requirebantur, notitiam comparavi : idque consecutus sum illustrium virorum, qui in aula consenuerant, familiaritate, ut quæ de rebus nostris per libros sparsim et incertis auctoribus vulgata fuerant, ad veritatis normam diligenter exigerem ; in eoque studium meum, quamdiu in tuo comitatu fui, inter publica negotia exercui, donec in hoc ergastulum forense me necessitas muneris compulit. Nec vero heri aut nudiustertius tibi notus sum ; jamque viginti duo anni elapsi sunt, ex quo cum delegatis ex amplissimo ordine senatoribus in Aquitaniam a rege missus cum ad te profectus essem, summam erga me humanitatem ac benivolentiam tuam expertus sum ; ab eoque tempore fiduciam cepi, ingenii nostri fructus, si qui olim a tenuitate ejus proficisci possent, non omnino tibi ingratos futuros. Præter hanc alia justior causa subest, cur tibi hanc historiam inscribi oportuerit ; quod videlicet periculose plenum opus aleæ aggredienti, prævalido adversus malivolorum obtreptiones patrocínio opus erat, et peracri illo judicio tuo, quo res gerendas disponis, ad examinandam rerum gestarum veritatem. hujus censure, ut debeo, stare decrevi, siue ad cetera edenda auctor fueris, siue ad hanc ipsam partem premendam ; quæ non tam editur, quam velut universi operis specimen nunc tibi spectanda proponitur. quicquid de ea statueris jussisset, pro divinæ vocis oraculo mihi erit.

Is. Casaubon gives a more particular Account of this Proceeding, and of its Effect. It is in a Letter to Lipsius, dated from Paris, xii Kal. Apr. 1604. (printed in Burmanni Sylloge Epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum Vol. I. p. 379.) viz. Thuani historia paucissimis exemplis edita fuit, non tam ut publicaretur, quam ut regi offerretur, voluntate illius casura aut statuta. neque enim ambitione impulsus vir summus ad eam scriptionem accessit. Itaque velut periculi faciendi causa, edi suis sumptibus pauca exemplaria curavit. Nunc, cum Rex magnus patrocínio suum illi prolixè

lixè detulit, *prælo iterum subiecta est a typographis.*
 Of this Approbation of *Thuanus's* History by King Henry IV, we have (among others) this peculiar Proof, in our MS. Collections, *viz.*

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. de Bethune, son Ambassadeur à Rome, du 4 May, 1604.

• Quand le Nonce m'a parlé et fait plainte du Livre
 • du President de Thou, il a cogneu le déplaisir que j'en
 • ai receu, et comme j'ai commandé le cours et la vente
 • d'iceluy, qui a été faite.

We have also among our MSS. sufficient Proof that M. de Villeroy Secretary of State, (a Man, for the rest, of eminent Abilities in his Station) was one of those *Proceres in Aula, quorum astu Rex ipse paulatim infractus est,* as *Thuanus* expresses it; whom I take to have had that Secretary chiefly in his Eye, when he says the Blow he received from the Court of Rome *facile vitari potuit, si qui circa regem erant, tantæ injuriæ sensum ad se ac regni dignitatem pertinere, vel minimâ significatione præ se tulissent.*

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. de Villeroy à M. de Bethune Ambassadeur à Rome, 5 May, 1605.

• Je croi que M. le President de Thou est marri d'a-
 • voir publié son livre, et qu'il ne s'y engageroit s'il
 • avoit s'il estoit à recommencer : mais il faut manier
 • ce fait doucement pour y apporter quelque remede, qui
 • ne peust estre autre à mon avis, que d'en empêcher la
 • re-impression; car pour l'amender et corriger, il faut
 • droit changer une grande partie d'iceluy; chose difficile
 • de faire. Je lui en ai parlé par le commandement
 • de sa Majesté. Il m'a assuré qu'il sera le premier à
 • tenir la main qu'il soit enseveli, et qu'il ne s'en parle
 • plus; non qu'il estime avoir failli à l'histoire, ne qu'il
 • se veuille dedire de ses opinions en ce qui concerne
 • la Religion; mais parce qu'il ne veut faire chose qui
 • desagrée à sa Majesté, et porte prejudice à son Service.

M. de Villeroy, you see, Sir, comes to *Thuanus* from the King, with a Proposition framed à son avis, and no Doubt suggested by him to his Majesty, *viz.* that he should empêcher la re-impression de son Histoire; I say 'tis plain what the Proposition was, by *Thuanus's* Answer, qu'il sera le premier à tenir la main qu'il soit enseveli, et qu'il ne s'en parle plus. Now it was very natural for a Person, so devoted to the King as *Thuanus* was, to make such an Answer; it being no more

than repeating the very same Compliment you have seen he made to the King in his Dedication, and for the very same Reason, viz. *parce qu'il ne veut faire chose qui desagré à sa Majesté, et porte prejudice à son service.* But it was as natural for a Man qui n'estime avoir failli à l'Histoire, ne qui se veuille dedire de ses Opinions en ce qui concerne la Religion, to apply in Person and by all the Friends he could make at Court, in a Point that touch'd as well his Conscience as his Reputation, to prevail with the King to persevere in the same Sentiments he had first entertained, of a History that was indeed *comme faite pour montrer la Justice de la Cause de la Maison de Bourbon.* And to these Struggles Thuanus alludes, when he tells Camden (vid. my former Letter, p. 13.) *Nos in eodem lutamur Ægeo; iidem æstus, eadem procellæ usque deque in scopulos et brevia impellunt.*

Here Sir, be it observed to our Author's Honour, that he did not forbear publishing more of his History, during those Struggles, and while the King may be supposed to be fluctuating between the Party of the Leaguers and that of the true Frenchmen: Nor did he wait to be assured, whether the Court of Rome would censure the first Part or not; but, notwithstanding he appears by all his Letters to be very anxious to avoid by any honest Means the Papal Censure, yet while that Matter was in Agitation at Rome, he proceeded resolutely to publish, by the Drouarts, in Folio, so much of his History as takes in the first 80 Books, (for so far their last Volume in Folio, which came out in 1609, extends.) In that Year it was that Thuanus could no longer maintain his Party against his Enemies at Court: Of this we may judge by a sure Criterion; for from what Thuanus says above in his Letter to the President Jeannin, we know the Court of Rome did not strike *their Blow*, till they had Intelligence the King would acquiesce in it; and we know *that Blow* was not struck till above two Years *post discessum Card. Perronii ex urbe*, namely, not till the 9th of Nov. 1609, that being the Date of the Decree condemning Thuanus's History.

Our Author stopt at the 80th Book till the Year 1617, when he took a Resolution (which he did not live to execute) to publish the whole. The Reason for stopping so long as he did at the 80th Book, was not any Dread of the Court of Rome; but Regard to the Temper of the Kingdom, and especially of the Court, of France. For thus he

he writes to Cardinal *Sforza*, 14 July 1608. ' J'adjousterai (aux 57) encore 23 Livres, qui vont jusques à l'année 1584 incluse, et jusqu'au commencement de nos guerres et confusions enragées, qui ont peu s'en a fallu renversé cet Estat. Là il faudra arrester le cours de l'impression ; et garder les 45 Livres qui restent et poursuivent l'histoire jusques à l'année 1601, ja du tout achevés il y a trois ans, pour un meilleur temps, auquel il soit plus libre de penser ce que l'on veut, et d'escire ce que l'on pense.

We have two M. S. Pieces, which appear to be the Reports made by the Person to whose Examination the first Part of *Thuanus's* History was referred, by the Congregation of Inquisitors at *Rome*; they are as follows.

Censura in Jacobi Thuani historiam, Parisiensis Editionis 1604.

Tomi primi Errata.

' *Præfatio* locis aliquantulis corrigenda, ubi nimirum in justam hæreticorum punitionem invehitur, et libertatem conscientiae concedendam significat, atque concessam in regno *Franciae* laudat.

Then follows a List of Passages in that Tome, which the Examiner proposes should be expunged. (Which List shall be given intire in our Edition.) And then comes this Conclusion,

' De hoc autem libro, deque ejus authore, hoc censeo, librum dignum esse qui penitus damnetur et aboleatur: quippe qui locos tam crebros et tam foedè pestilentes habeat, ut planè purgari non possit, quin historiae sensus mutilus, atque adeo inutilis reddatur. Autorem, ob immane odium quod in Romanam sedem, ejusque summos Pontifices identidem ostendit, videri Calvinistam; atque ob id jure inter primæ classis hæreticos recensendum.

D. Anton. Caraciolus.

Secundi Tomi Censura.

' In hoc secundo Tomo sæpe mordentur summi Pontifices; et laudantur hæretici non solum ob eruditionem, sed ob pietatem; passim quoque sectas hæreticorum appellat autor honorifico nomine Religionis.

Then follows a List of Passages proposed to be expunged (which shall also be given intire in our Edition) and then this Conclusion,

' Et de hoc secundo Tomo idem judicium perfero ac de primo: Nam in hoc etiam Tomo *Thuanus* Concilium *Tridentinum* exagitat, summos Pontifices identi-

*dem taxat, hæreticos laudat, præcipuè *Condeum, Navarrum, Mommorantium*, seditionis *Gallicæ* authores, et hæreticorum principes fautores. Consulantur interim illustrissimi *Perronus* et *Du Henry*, qui ut reor authorem hunc bene norunt; deque eo, an videlicet inter primæ classis hæreticos sit recensendus, optime iudicabunt.

D. Anton. Caraciolus.

There is no Date to either of these Reports; But it appears probable by the End of the latter, that they were drawn up before Cardinal *du Perron* left *Rome*.

I must not omit to observe to you, that upon Perusal I find the Passages which in these Reports are censured, are all in the two Volumes in 8vo printed by the *Drouarts* at *Paris* in 1604. I say they are all in that 2d Edition of the first Part of the History, which *Thuanus* appears, by those Extracts you have read of his Letters to *M. du Puy*, to think might have passed unexceptionably, and uncensured by the Court of *Rome*. So little did it avail him at that Court, *d'adoucir certains endroits*, while he retained any Scruple *de dire autrement les choses qu'elles ne sont, ou dissimuler lâchement la verité*.

The next Thing to be taken Notice of, is, that in the Decree of the *Master of the Palace*, dated 9 Nov. 1609, by which *Thuanus's* History was declared to be condemned, there is no particular Cause assigned for that Censure; the general Title only of *Jacobi Augusti Thuanæ Historiæ* being inserted in a List among other Books which by that Decree are termed pernicious, and are therefore forbidden to be read in any Language by the Faithful. The condemning of the whole History, as well what was actually published, as what should afterwards be published, by branding the general Title with a Mark of Censure, gave our Author Ground to reproach the Censors, as you have seen, *Quod opus integrum, cujus ne tertiam quidem partem legerant, præcipitato ordine damnârunt*. One Observation more I have to make to you, Sir, upon this general Censure passed by the Court of *Rome* on *Thuanus's* History; viz. In the Extracts I have given you of Letters from our Author to *M. du Puy*, that dated 12 Feb. 1606. begins thus, *Vous m'écriviez que l'on ne toucheroit à la preface*; now in the *Vita Thuanæ*, towards the End of the 5th Book, the Motives of the Leaguers, the devoted Creatures of the Court of *Rome*, to get him condemned, being enumerated, the Conclusion is, that what inwardly vexed them most, and went to their Heart, was, his

ge-

general Preface (or Dedication) *tho' they would not own it. Hinc Romæ suggestum, ut indictâ causâ sine conditione Thuanus Historiæ censura notarentur, quarum tunc pars tantum edita fuerat, sed cum præfatione illa, qua tantopere intra pectoris scrinium ringuntur, neque tamen fatentur.*

The Decree, such as it is, which I have said was published at Rome, condemning *Thuanus* in general Terms, shall be inserted in our Edition; And whereas the *Drouarts* Edition in Folio of the first 80 Books of *Thuanus's* History was condemned by the Inquisition in Spain, in 1640. and the Passages to be expunged out of that Edition, are all distinctly described in the *Index expurgatorius* printed at Madrid in 1667. Folio; that List of Passages so condemned to be obliterated, shall be also inserted.

Here then I set down for another Improvement of our Edition, a Collection of Letters and Pieces ranged in Order of Time, relating to the censuring of *Thuanus's* History by the Court of Rome. And this, Sir, I now confess to you, is one of the principal things I had in my Mind, when in my former, p. 19. I said, ' We will ' (in our new *Thuanus*) give the *Geneva* Edition of 1620. ' as the Text; and at the Foot of every Page shall stand ' the different Readings (exhibiting the Omissions or Insertions of Passages, and the Alterations of Sentences or Expressions, whenever the Sense is thereby altered) collected from the several *Paris* Editions; ' viz. *Patisson's* Folio; and the Octavo, Folio, and Duodecimo of *Drouart*; distinguishing each from the other. For it is not to be doubted, but what I have been so largely entertaining you with, and what I shall offer upon another Subject, will induce the Readers of our new Edition to be very attentive, even to the minutest of those Alterations.

As *John Balaguier, Esq;* Secretary to his Excellency the Lord *Carteret* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, has shewn his Inclination to promote our Edition, by communicating to me, by your Hands, the Variations he had taken the Pains to collect, upon his collating *Patisson's* first Volume with that of *Geneva* in 1620; (which Variations will come of Course into our Edition, by our Plan of exhibiting on the same Page the Alterations in the several Editions;) I take Pleasure in acknowledging his Favour.

You have seen, Sir, by the very first Letter which *Thuanus* wrote to *M. du Puy*, when he had sent *Patisson's* first

first Volume of his History to *Rome*, ' Qu'il ne doutoit
 ' point, qu'elle ne seroit soigneusement examinée, voire
 ' *usque ad calumniam*. He had indeed been always
 persuaded, that his History, considering the Times
 of which he wrote, would raise him many and very
 powerful Enemies both at Home and Abroad; and
 therefore he had determined to forbear publishing it
 during his Life, and to leave it to Posterity. But
 there are Passages in his Letters which shew why
 he changed this Resolution. Writing to *M. du Puy*
 at *Rome*, *Apr. 12, 1606.* concerning his History, he
 says, ' Je crois que je vous ay dit ou escrit, que par force
 ' l'avois donné au public, ce qui en estoit imprimé;
 ' d'autant qu'il y en avoit une copie en *Allemagne* à
 ' moi derobée *ab Amanuensi Germano, incorrectè*, et que
 ' je craignois que l'on y imprimât. He is yet more
 particular on this Subject, in his Letter to the Presi-
 dent *Jeannin* in 1611. ——— ' In opere mul-
 ' tum progressus eram, cum ad me ex *Germaniâ* re-
 ' scriptum est, extare primæ partis exemplum, quod ni
 ' præverterem, injussu meo propediem ederetur. Quod
 ' curiositate *Amanuensis Germani* acciderat, qui cum
 ' meas Schedas describeret, illud sibi clam descriptum
 ' in *Germaniam* secum absportaverat. Id cum mihi
 ' summè cavendum putarem, per amicos ut exemplum
 ' reciperem ante omnia curavi; sed eo tempore quo
 ' jam semel iterumve à curiosis item descriptum illud
 ' fuisse vero simile fiebat. Itaque, nec eâ cautione
 ' metu liberatus, tandem ipse serio de editione coactus
 ' sum cogitare.

Thuanus being thus obliged to put his History to the
 Press himself, took a generous Resolution, for the Good
 of the Publick, not to conceal his Name; ' *Nomen*
 ' *meum* (*continues he to M. Jeannin*) quod si licuisset,
 ' suppressum cupiebam, non ambitiosè apponi passus
 ' sum; sed malui gratiæ in aulâ, fortunarum domi, et
 ' existimationis foris, periculum facere, quam commit-
 ' tere ut quod ad publicam utilitatem et conservandam
 ' rerum memoriam tantâ curâ scripseram, præposterâ
 ' ullâ prudentiâ, fidem apud eos qui nunc sunt et post
 ' erunt, amitteret.

He had several Years before owned the like noble
 Sentiment to Cardinal *Sforza*, the very first Letter he
 wrote to him, which was 1 *May, 1606.* when his Hi-
 story was under Examination at *Rome*. ' *L'ambition*

' ne

' nem'a pousée à cela, et prevoiant l'envie que j'attire.
 ' rois sur moi, j'eusse volontiers supprimé mon nom,
 ' s'il eut esté loisible : Mais craignant que cela rendroit
 ' la chose suspecte, j'ai mieux aymé sacrifier mon nom
 ' et ma fortune tout ensemble, que de faire rien
 ' en cela qui eust peu diminuer la foi et la creance de
 ' l'histoire, puisqu' elle estoit faite pour servir au pub-
 ' lic.

What *Thuanus* presaged of suffering in his Fortunes by publishing avowedly his History, came to pass signally in 1611. The Case was this : M. *Achilles de Harlay*, who had married a Daughter of M. *Christopher de Thou*, succeeded him (on his Decease in 1582) in the Place of *Premier President* of the Parliament of *Paris*. Our Author *Jac. Aug. de Thou* (Son of the said *Premier President Christopher*) succeeded his Uncle *Augustin de Thou* (on his Decease in 1595) in the Place of *President à Mortier*. In 1611 M. *de Harlay* being grown old and infirm, obtained Leave of Queen *Mary de Medicis* to dispose of his Place to such Person as he should think fit, provided it were one who was not disagreeable to her Majesty. Our Author had previously agreed the Matter with M. *de Harlay*, who was not only his Brother in Law, but had a particular Esteem and Kindness for him : And considering *Thuanus's* long and useful Services to the Crown ; his near Affinity to M. *de Harlay* by Blood ; his Nearness to him by Place (as *President à Mortier*) in which he had sat 16 Years ; and his universally allowed Probity and Abilities for the Office ; it was the general Expectation that he would be accepted, preferably to all others ; and advanced (Hereditarily as it were) to a Post, in which his Father and Brother in Law had acquitted themselves most worthily and laudably, as had his Grandfather and Uncle in that of *President à Mortier*. But, in short, the Party of the Leaguers was then grown all-powerful at Court ; and by their Suggestions and Influence *Thuanus* was rejected, and M. *de Verdun* (first *President* of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*) admitted into M. *de Harlay's* Place.

Upon this Repulse, *Thuanus* wrote an admirable Letter in *Latin* to the *President Jeannin*, which we have already quoted upon other Heads, and which shall be inserted intire in our Edition. In this Letter, speaking of his History, he says, ' *Inter criminationes, tanquam*
 ' præ-

præcipua repulsæ nostræ. Causa obijcitur. He also intimates, not obscurely, that the forementioned Secretary of State M. de Villeroy had in this Affair worked under-hand against him, Which brings to my Mind the Characters given in Winwood's Memorials of M. de Villeroy and of Thuanus, accidentally and without any Byass towards either of them, many Years before this Transaction.

Sir Henry Neville, in a Letter to Mr. Secretary Cecyll, dated Paris 7 Aug. 1599; says, ' Since my coming to this Towne I learn that there are certaine Jesuits com hither to the King from Rome, to intreate for the restoring of their Order into France, which is a Matter the Pope hath much laboured. They were presented here unto him by the Pope's Nuncio, and presently brought out againe, and referred till his Counsaile and he should come together. M. de Villeroy is a great Favourer of their Restitution, but the Court of Parliament is earnest against them.' And Sir R. Winwood, in a Letter to Mr. Secretary Cecyll, dated 17 May 1601, writes, ' Many conclude M. de Villeroy's Service is somewhat suspected with the King, especially in this Particular of Rome; [he endeavoured tho' in vain, to get his Son sent Ambassadour to the Pope,] ' to which See (even in Matters of State) he hath ever ben accounted superstitiously affected.

I know not whether the Passage I am going to give you, does most Honour to Sir Ralph Winwood or to M. de Thou.

Sir Ralph writing to Mr. Secretary Cecyll, 27 Ap. 1601, tells him, That he had made a Visit to the President de Thou, (upon a particular Affair mentioned in the Letter,) and that he then took Occasion, because Queen Elizabeth's Proceedings in cutting off the Earl of Essex (the February before) and some of his Accomplises, had been maliciously and falsely represented abroad, to say to the President, ' I understood what Mark he had in Hand (viz. as he expresses himself in the former Part of his Letter, ' the making an universal Stoarie of these later and present Times,') and offered to deliver a particular Relation of this late Action, from the first Discovery of the Treason. Praying him to be perswaded, That her Majestie held so much more grievous the least Touch to her Honor, then any Violence that could be intended to her Person; by howe much

' much more durable the Memory of her Honor was
 ' then the Life of her Person ; which she knows to be
 ' mortall and to have End, when the Honor of her
 ' Name shall live and reign with the Age of Eternity.
 ' He accepted my Offer, and confessed he had projec-
 ' ted such a Worke ; wherein he said, So often as Oc-
 ' casion should be geven to speak of her Majestie,
 ' though he were neither her Servant nor her Pen-
 ' sionarie, yet he wold so speake, with so much Reve-
 ' rence and Devotion of Duety, not as her Worth
 ' doth deserve, but as the Baseness of his Pen might
 ' arrive to the Highth of so divine a Subject. This
 ' President is the worthiest Man this Town doth hold,
 ' and so reputed, both for his Sufficiency of Knowledge,
 ' and honest Integrity.

I might add here, an Instance of the opposite Cha-
 racters of *M. de Villeroy* and *M. de Thou*, and of their
 different Judgments in Points wherein the See of *Rome*
 was deeply interested, by reciting a Debate held before
K. Henry IV. in 1599, touching the Reception in
France of the Council of *Trent* ; on which Occasion *M.*
de Villeroy appeared exceeding warm and officious to ob-
 lige that See in an Affair of such Importance to it, and
 urged the King vehemently to cause the said Council to
 be received ; and *M. de Thou* argued so strenuously, for
 the Constitution of the Kingdom, against the Recep-
 tion of that Council, that he prevailed with his Majesty
 to desist from attempting it. But referring to the 6th
 Book of the *Vita Thuanii*, for an ample Account of
 that Debate, (by which it is visible, *Thuanus* designed
 to leave a Mark upon *M. de Villeroy* and his Party) I
 pass on to another Subject.

And that is, the Exceptions taken by *K. James I.*
 to the Account *Thuanus* had given in his History of the
 Actions of his Mother *Mary Queen of Scots*.

As soon as *Henry IV.* to whom *Thuanus* dedicated
 his History, had declared his Approbation of it, our Au-
 thor sent that Volume printed by *Patisson*, to the
French Ambassadour then at the Court of *England*, to
 be presented by him to *King James I.* with a Letter,
 which is among our MSS. and which I will give you
 here intire.

Sereniss. Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ Regi Jacobo.

' Mirum tibi fortasse videbitur, Sereniss. Rex, quod
 ' sacras occupationes tuas homo ignotus hoc tempore
 ' interpellare ausus fuerim. Virtutum tuarum fama,
 D quasi

' quasi novi solis fulgor exoriens, sincera cum princi-
 ' pe nostro amicitia, arcta *Franco-Gallici* et *Anglo-*
 ' *Scotici* nominis hodie conjunctio, singularis tuus erga
 ' litteras & litteratos amor, & in omneis humanitas, ad-
 ' itum mihi ad *M. T.* patefecerunt, spemque dederunt,
 ' fore, ut hoc industriae nostrae quaecunque munus,
 ' quod tibi per Comitem *Bellomontium* oratorem regi-
 ' um proxima mihi cognatione conjunctum offerretur,
 ' benigne comiterque accipias. *Id non inconsulto prin-*
 ' *cipe nostro factum, immo suadente, ac jubente, atque*
 ' *insuper addente, de tantis rebus scriptum opus, nisi*
 ' *ipsi à me dicatum esset, tibi inscribi debuisse.* In eo
 ' multa bene, plura secus, nostrorum & tuorum facta;
 ' sed & salutarium praeceptorum, quae tu aureis ad om-
 ' nem aeternitatem litteris exarando libro * consignasti,
 ' exempla reperies: atque haec apud te satis; cetera ex
 ' opere ipso exercitatissimi judicii prudentia, qua pluri-
 ' mum polles, observabis. *D. O. M.* oro, ut *Chri-*
 ' *stianiss.* regem suis, te tuis, ambos universo *Christiano*
 ' orbi incolumeis quam diutissimè conservet; atque ut
 ' animos vestros ad colendam amicitiam novis officii-
 ' orum ac necessitudinum vinculis nuper devinxit, sic
 ' voluntates ac studia ad sarcendam ecclesiae concor-
 ' diam mutuo consensu conspirare faciat; ne potius in
 ' firmandâ pace de finibus tuendis, quam de ipsius glo-
 ' ria amplificanda cogitasse videamini. Vale, *Sereniss.*
 ' Rex, meque eadem, qua cunctos tui amanteis prose-
 ' queris, benevolentia complecti non dedignare. *Lu-*
 ' *etiae Parisiorum*, pridie Kal. Januar. 1603.

T. M. Devotissimus,

Jac. Aug. Thuanus.

To this Letter K. *James* soon wrote an Answer him-
 self, in which he condescends to treat *Thuanus* with
 great Cordiality and Openness of Sentiments, and with
 peculiar Marks of Kindness for his Person, and Appro-
 bation of his Book. It is intire, as follows,

A Monsieur de Thou President au Parlement de Paris.

' Monsieur le President. Nous vous remercions tres
 ' affectueusement des lettres que nous avez escrites, &
 ' du livre que nous avez envoié, dressé par vostre la-
 ' beur. Tant par l'offerte de celuy cy, comme par le
 ' tesmoignage de celles là, vous nous faites paroistre
 ' le respect et la bonne volonté que vous nous portez;
 ' lesquels nous recueillons et recognoissons de pareille
 ' affection;

* [The *Basilicon Doron*.]

affection ; et prenons en tres bonne part l'exhorta-
 tion que d'un cœur rond nous avez voulu faire, d'
 embrasser & nous employer à l'union de l'Eglise, par
 l'eclaircissement & composition des differents qui reg-
 nent en la Religion : A quoy nous vous pouvons af-
 feurer que nous sommes et serons tousjours de vo-
 stre part non seulement disposés, mais tres affectio-
 nés ; & apporterons en toute occasion à une si bon-
 ne œuvre tout ce qui dependra de nous : n'ayans ja-
 mais, Dieu mercie, esté d'humeur sectaire, n'y restifs
 au bien de la Chrestienté ; et desirerions que tous
 princes et potentats fussent touchés d'une mesme in-
 clination et desir en cest endroit, que nous sommes,
 pour acheminer et mener une œuvre si digne & im-
 portante à quelque bonne conclusion, au soulas &
 repos universel de la Chrestienté ; et convertir una-
 nimement nos differents contre l'ennemi commun.
 Pour vostre livre, bien que nous n'ayons pas eu le loir
 de le recognoistre encores qu'à demi, & bien le-
 gerement ; nous y avons toutefois assez reconnu votre
 suffisance ; & y avons gousté du plaisir & contente-
 ment, tant pour l'amour du stile que de la matiere ;
 ainisy que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur vous pourra tes-
 moigner, auquel nous avons ingenuement déclaré sur
 la lecture d'iceluy, le jugement que nous en faisons ;
 et n'y a rien qui nous ait plus contenté, que de vous y
 recognoistre si fidele observateur de ce que vous re-
 commandez par vos lettres, d'avoir banni de vos es-
 crits toute partialité, qui est le vice mortel & trop
 frequent de l'histoire. Ce qui nous croissant l'envie de
 voir le reste & suite de ce bel œuvre de mesme fa-
 brique, selon la promesse que vous faites de vous vou-
 loir engager en ceste peine ; nous vous prions & som-
 mons aussy, d'adjouster & parfaire ce contentement a
 la curiosité de vos amis : et de croire, Monsieur le
 President, que personne ne sera plus desireux, et dis-
 posé à honorer & recognoistre vos vertus, & vos
 merites, que sera

Vostre affectionné amy,

Jaqes R.

A nostre Palais de Westminster

le 4^{me} Mars. 1603.

Leaving Thuanus in this high Favour with King
 James ; I proceed, in Order of Time, to give such an

Account as I have been able to gather, from Books and MSS. of *Thuanus's* Correspondence with *Camden*, and with *Jf. Casaubon*; on this Subject, chiefly, of *Mary Queen of Scots*.

I should be thought to be very deficient in this Article, wherein the Learned of our Nation are peculiarly interested, if I did not take particular Notice of a Tradition that I have often heard formerly *to Camden's Prejudice*: And since it became publicly known that I was about an Edition of *Thuanus*, it has been repeated to me in Discourse by Men eminent for Learning and Knowledge, as a Matter which they took for granted was, in some Degree or other, true. Were it only an oral Tradition, I should be under great Difficulty in what Words to recite it: For you are sensible, Sir, that an oral Tradition is so liable to be varied, either in the Circumstances or the Terms, by every Reporter, that no cautious Man can well state it upon Paper precisely and positively: But happily I have found it in Print, in the late Bishop *Burnet's* Pieces against *M. Varillas*. How early that Tradition took its Rise, or whether it is mentioned by any Writer before the Bp. [I confess I cannot tell. If he had the Authority of any prior Author, I should be glad he had quoted him.

The Bp. (in his Reflections on the 9th Book of the first Volume of *Varillas's* History of Heresies, printed at *Amst.* 1686 12mo.) having mentioned *Camden*, p. 52. says his 'History is writ with so much
' Judgment and Impartiality, that as it acquired the
' Author the Friendship and Esteem of that emi-
' nent Historian *M. de Thou*; so he after *Cam-*
' *den's* Death published the Second Volume, from
' the Manuscript the Author sent him. And in his De-
fence of those Reflections, in Reply to *Varillas's* Answer to them, (printed at *Amst.* 1687, in 12mo.) quoting *Varillas*, p. 57. he says, He (*Varillas*) denies that *Cam-*
' *den* troubled *Mr. de Thou* with the Manuscript of the
' Second Part of his History; which was an Employ-
' ment below a President à Mortier to be concerned
' in: And he adds, that he has often heard that *Cam-*
' *den* sent his Manuscript to *Mr. du Puy*, who took
' Care to print it: And then he reflects on *Mr. de*
' *Thou's* Partiality in all those Matters that related to
the

' the Queen of Scots, and says, that King James spake
 ' so severely to his Son upon it, that it threw him in-
 ' to a Sickness of three Months Continuance. To
 ' which the Bp. replies, p. 58. ' He obliges me here
 ' to tell the Story of Camden's Manuscript, more par-
 ' ticularly than I had thought necessary. Mr. de Thou
 ' having intended to make his History general, entred
 ' into a Correspondence with the Men over all Europe,
 ' that were most likely to inform him right: So he
 ' was in a great Correspondence with Camden; and
 ' when Camden's first Volume appeared, he writ se-
 ' verely to him, finding that it was so different from
 ' what had past between them in Letters, chiefly with
 ' Relation to the Queen of Scots; upon which Cam-
 ' den told him the Truth, that King James would needs
 ' revise it himself, and afterwards put it in the Earl of
 ' Northampton's Hands, who was Brother to the Duke
 ' of Norfolk, that had been beheaded on that Queen's
 ' Account, and that many Things were struck out, and
 ' many Things altered: This troubled Camden ex-
 ' tremely, who took Care that his Second Part should
 ' not run the same Fate; and therefore he sent it out
 ' of England, to that Great Man, that it might be
 ' printed faithfully after his Death: This is well known
 ' in England; and the sending the Second Part beyond
 ' Sea to a Foreigner, does very easily carry a Man to
 ' believe this to have been the true Reason of it. I
 ' do not indeed think, that a President à Mortier
 ' went to the Cramoisy's and the Barbin's of that
 ' Time, to sell the Manuscript, or to correct the Im-
 ' pression; and if so worthy and so learned a Man as
 ' Mr. du Puy took Care to see it faithfully printed,
 ' Mr. de Thou, as he did nothing unworthy of his Dig-
 ' nity in being the Depositary of so valuable a Piece of
 ' History, so he answered the Sacredness of the Trust
 ' to the full, when he put it in his Kinsman's Hands.
 ' It is true, that King James reproached Mr. de Thou's
 ' Son for his Father's having copied Buchanan's In-
 ' vectives against his Mother; but Mr. de Thou had a
 ' very tender Heart, if this gave him a Sickness of
 ' three Months.

My Intention is not to give any Opinion of my
 own of this Tradition. But letting it stand as Bp.
 Burnet has delivered it, I will, without the least Byass
 one

one Way or other, plainly and simply state the Substance and Tenour of what is come to my Hands of *Thuanus's* Correspondence with *Camden*, and *Casaubon*; in no other View than to shew of what Use their Letters will be in our Edition; leaving it to others to judge of the Tradition, as they find Cause. Only, as two Facts that are incorporated with this Tradition, are told absolutely wrong; I will just mention here, ' That ' *Thuanus* died Six Years before *Camden*, and therefore could not publish the Second Volume of the ' *Annales Elizabethæ* after *Camden's* Decease. And that ' it was *M. du Puy* (not *de Thou*) whom *Camden* made ' the Depositary of his Second Volume, and this not ' till 1620, which was three Years after *Thuanus* died.

Thuanus was made acquainted with *Camden* by the friendly Offices and Recommendation of Mr. *Lisle*, the Beginning of the Year 1605. The first Letter we have from *Thuanus* to *Camden*, is in the Collection of Letters to and from *Camden*, which Dr. *Tho. Smith* got transcribed from the Originals in the *Cotton Library*, and published in 1691, 4to.

Extract of a Letter from *Thuanus* to *Camden*, dated from *Paris* 4 Eid. Febr. 1605. ex Syll. *Camd. et illustr. viror. Epist. p. 68.* ' Ago tibi gratias, vir doctissime, ' pro tanta humanitate et egregiâ adeo mihi navatâ ' operâ. Vix speraveram, ut rogatus à me faceres, ' quod solâ D. *Insulani* amicissimi mihi viri commendatione fecisti. Quid enim sum, ut seria tua studia ' tantisper remorer? *Camdenum* in meis legendis iacturam bonarum horarum fecisse? Tanto hominem sibi ' ignotum beneficio devinxisse? Verum age, quando ' ita officiosus esse voluisti, pro humanitate me inhumanum amicum experieris. Velim idem præstes in ' *Scoticis*, nam potes, quod in patriâ historiâ fecisti: ' nam vereor, ut aliquâ in parte impegerim. Velim ' et ut mihi consilium des, quomodo *Scotica* anni cis. is. lxxvi. ' (nam pars ea nostrarum historiarum jam sub prelo ' est) citra offensionem, et tamen verè, exequi possim. ' Heic hæreo, jamdudum invidiam et odium nostrorum in aliis expertus; nec committere volo, ut imprudentiæ apud vos arguar, aut quidquam denique ' fecisse dicar, quo se læsum is meritò queri possit, ' qui me nuper literis suis dignatus, et ad cætera, quæ ' pari

pari candore et veritatis studio ad annum cis. is. xvi. per-
 duxi, edenda hortatus est. Acerbius hæc fortassè à
Buchanano scripta, et audio discipulum præceptoris
 ob id succensere; et tamen quia gesta sunt, citra fla-
 gitium dissimulari non possunt. Scribe, et amico
 consilii inopi tuum ne denega. Innuere verbo po-
 res, nec opus est, ut distinctius scribas. Quicquid
 scripseris, non solum pro consilio sed pro imperio
 erit. Proximâ partis jam editæ editione cognosces,
 quanti, uti debeo, monita tua fecerim. In *Hiberni-*
cis vestris planè peregrinus sum, nec dum qui viderit,
 aut fando quicquam de iis acceperit, adhuc conveni.
 Pauca de illis, ut scis, scripta; et præter *Staniburstum*,
 et tabulas insulæ nuper editas, et quod in tuâ ad om-
 ne ævum victurâ *Britannia* adjecisti, nihil habui, un-
 de me instruere possem. Ultimum verò bellum qui
 scripserit, adhuc vidi aut audivi neminem. Scire cu-
 pio de his, quæ habes, et quæ à tuis sperare possum:
 de *Tiroënæ* Comite imprimis, cum quo vobis res fuit,
 quâ gente, origine, quibus clientelis subnixus, qui-
 bus moribus et ingenio fuerit, ut tantum bellum ad-
 versus Serenissimam Reginam suscipere in animum
 induxerit, et quibus tandem conditionibus cum eo
 fuerit decisum. Doleo neminem adhuc apud vos
 exstitisse, qui res gestas tantæ Heroïnæ literis man-
 daverit. Sanè si scribendi facultas et ingenium tam
 nobili argumento dignum mihi esset, si otium, et in-
 terior rerum vestrarum notitia, si documenta idonea
 ad id suppeterent, non alium quam me Præconem
 habuisset. Sed vereor, ne id arrogantiùs tibi dictum
 videatur, quod potius eximio meo in eam affectui
 condonandum est.

You see, Sir, *Thuanus* little thought (in 1605,) that
Camden was then compiling the History of Queen
Elizabeth; tho' *Camden* tells us at the Beginning of the
 Preface to the first Volume of his Annals, that the
 Great Lord Treasurer *Burghleigh* put him upon com-
 piling that History before the Year 1597. But you will
 be surprized to see, in the Sequel of their Correspon-
 dence, that it was not till the Year 1612, and then by
Accident, that *Camden* let *Thuanus* know he was upon
 that History, and what Progress he had made in
 it.

Dr.

Dr. *Smith* in the Preface to his Collection says, That he had made diligent Search *apud nostrates* for *Camden's* Answers to *Thuanus's* Letters, but could not find any: And that being informed they were preserved at *Paris*, he wrote thither to M. *Thevenot* for them: But whether his Letter went safe to *Thevenot*, or whether, if it did, *Thevenot* was cautious of entering into any Correspondence with him, because it was then a Time of War between *England* and *France*; so it was, that he received no Answer from him; and therefore after some Months delaying on that Account the Publication of the Book, he published it without them. Now among our MSS. we have several Answers to *Thuanus*, from *Camden*.

Extract of a Letter from *Camden* to *Thuanus*, dated from *London*, 16. Kal. Maii 1605. ex M. S. ' Vemementer me angit et sollicitat, Vir Cl. quod literæ tuæ et Dni. *Insulani* ad me 4 Eid. Febr. datæ, nescio quo fato, vel cujus incuria; ante Eid. Aprilis non sint redditæ. — Interim hæc quæ magnitudo et vis amoris iussit, scribenda putavi. In *Scoticis* jam impressis quid præstare possum non video, omnium tamen opera et studio præsto futurus sum. Anno 1566 cautè tibi incedendum est, inter Comitem *Moraviæ*, *Hamiltonium*, *Reginam*, Regem, et partium studiosos; medio tutissime ibitur. *Jacobus* Comes *Moraviæ* frater nothus *Reginæ*, et *Hamiltonius* Dux *Castri Heraldii*, Regnum planè affectârunt; hic jure hæreditario, utique cui *Avia* filia fuit Regis *Jacobi* II. ille elato animo nescio quæ sponsalia inter patrem et matrem somnians, natalium defectum spetioso reformatæ religionis obtentu, suis virtutibus et clientelis supplere speravit; uterque *Reginam* è *Gallia* reductam in Cœlum translatam libens lubensque audiret; uterque sua spe inflatus *Reginam* à nuptiis arcerere sategit; sed imprimis nothus ille, qui malis artibus *Reginæ* abdicationi et exilio viam præstruxit, usus *Buchanano* administro, (Archifollem ad Rebellionem excitandam Rex noster subinde vocat,) qui famosis libellis *Reginam* infectatus, quamplurima falsa affinxit; ut illi non temerè credas in iis quæ ad *Moravium* et *Reginam* spectant, in cæteris fidem utcunque mereatur. *Regina* juvenula, et nova regnandi, rebus secundis luxuriavit; Rex juvenis, nullo rerum

rerum usu, credulus, pluma et folio levior, nec ipse
 sibi consulere, nec bene monenti parere novit, et cui
 arcana tacere admodum grave. Unde et Reginae gra-
 tia excidit, et partium studiosi illum insidiosissime
 tractarunt, et demum sustulerunt. Regina nostra *Eli-*
zabetha hæc spectavit, et sæpius *Scotam* commiserata
 est; sed minus, quod titulum et insignia Regni *An-*
glie usurpaverat, et in eam Pontificii apud nos spem
 reposuerant omnem. Hæc quæ prudentiores et æ-
 quiores apud nos propius à vero abesse credunt,
 Verbo innuo; tu tuo utere iudicio et penicillo. In
Hibernicis majorem lucem præbere fortasse potero.
 [and accordingly in this Letter he gives Thuanus a
 succinct yet clear Account of Tir-Owen, &c.] Dom.
Insulanum, ad quem jam scribere per negotia
 non licet, officiosissime meo nomine salutes.

By the Extracts you have read (of *Thuanus's* Letter
 to *Camden*, and *Camden's* Answer) it appears, that
 their Correspondence began not long after the first
 Part of *Thuanus's* History by *Parisson* in *Fol.* and
 the same Part by the *Drouarts* in 2 Vol. 8vo.
 had been published in 1604. I must likewise ob-
 serve, that the *Pars ea historiarum Thuanii*, which
 took in the Year 1566, and which *Thuanus* says was
sub prelo when he wrote his Letter, was the Second
 Volume in *Folio*, and the Third and Fourth Volumes
 in 8vo. published by the *Drouarts* in 1606.

Extract of a Letter from *Camden* to *Thuanus*, dated
Lond. Kal. Julii 1606. ex MS. 'Mense Junio jam præ-
 cipite relictæ fuerunt V. C. apud vicinum, dum forte
 domo aberam, partis primæ historiarum tuarum to-
 mi duo, ampliore et meliore quam qui vulgo pro-
 stant charta, bene compacti, et ad me *Gallicè* inscrip-
 ti, sed literæ planè nullæ. Unde vero essent, et cu-
 jusnam tam propensæ in me benevolentia *μνημόσυνα*
 subinde serio cogitavi, ingenium animumque versavi,
 Bibliopolas Gallos apud nos percontando nihil com-
 peri; adeo ut à tua fuisse humanitate animum jam
 induxerim meum, et tibi omnino gratias quantas pos-
 sum maximas agere, cui jure optimo debentur, cum
 (à quocumque missi) revera à te sint, utique tui in-
 genii partus, et laboris fructus. Verum enim vero
 fieri potest ut literæ quæ comitabantur interciderint,

E

quod

quod etiam malè metuo ne meis quas ad te dederam superiori anno acciderit: tuæ enim quæ datæ fuerunt IIII. Eid. Febr. cis. ioc. v. incuria vel inavetudine D. Fontani ante Eid. Aprilis redditæ non fuerunt. Quibus statim respondi per Tabellionem, et de rebus *Scoticis* et *Hibernicis* quæ petisti ad annum cis d. lxvi. paulò fusiùs. An perlatae fuerint dubitavi, cum anno jam vertente et ampliùs à te nihil planè litterarum. Sin autem periisse intellexero et tibi u sui fore, facilè denuò describantur, et damnum refarciatur. Reliquas historiæ tuæ partes avidissimè expectamus, supremam enim manum imposuisse audivimus.

Letter from *Thuanus* to *Camden*, dated *Paris* pridie Kal. Sextil. 1606. ex Syll. *Camd.* et illustr. viror. Epist. p. 73. *Post longum silentium, V. doctiss. mitto ad te, sive excusationis loco, sive ad purgandam moram, secundum historiarum nostrarum tomum; sed valdè vereor, ut temperamentum illud, de quo monueras, in rerum Scotticarum narratione ubique servaverim. Rem in omnium ore positam omnino præterire, quod libentissimè fecissem, si licuisset, magnà me invidiam apud vos deprecandi molestià nunc levatum sentirem. Verum in opere suscepto, nisi officio deesse vellem, æquè mihi flagitiosum silentium, quàm mendacium ipsum fuit vitandum. Quod si igitur id scribi oportuit, quomodo aliter scribi potuerit, sanè non video. Nam criminis, quod ipse palam admiseris, culpam in alium ex suspitione rejicere, quid aliud est, quam reo periclitanti per calumniosas exceptiones patrocinium parare? In reo, in ancipitis causæ defensore, quippe omnis expediendæ salutis honesta ratio, id excusationem fortasse mereat: at veritatem professò, ut alium culpà liberes, alium infamià onerare, nefas. Res ipsa loquitur. Nam demus, quod ab diversa tradentibus jactatur, Moravium ambitione ardentem sceleratè regnum appetiisse: quod tamen constanter negant omnes fide digni Scoti, quoscunque mihi alloqui contigit; etiam ii, quibus alioqui Moravius ob religionis causam summè in visus erat; nam virum fuisse aiebant extra religionis causam ab omni ambitione, avaritià, et in quenquam injurià alienum; virtute, comitate, beneficentià, vitæ innocentia, præstantem; et qui nisi fuisset, eos, qui tantoperè mortuum exagitant,*
hodie

hodiè minimè rerum potituros fuisse. Sed demus illum, calcatâ omni divini humanique juris religione, tantum animo scelus concepisse, quo tandem consultore et adiutore ad rem exequendam usus est? Primum omnium constat, nunquam ullas capitaliores inimicitias, quam inter Moravium et Botuelium exarsisse. At quis sibi persuadeat, inter tam infestos de tanto scelere, qualis in regem conjuratio fuit, consilia agitari potuisse; aut sperari, ut secretum, quod ad illam requirebatur, inter eos servaretur? Deinde, quis credat, Moravium tantas cum Botuelio inimicitias exercentem, post patratum scelus, sorori parricidæ in virum ducendi auctorem fuisse? aut Reginam tam supino ingenio fingi posse, ut fratri infameis juxta et periculosas nuptias suadenti aureis præbuerit? Denique, cur Moravius post hæc omnia sponte in Galliam secessit, si ex his turbis commodum aliquod sperare præsentiam suâ potuit; aut cur postea revocatus tantâ fide, rege infante, regnum administravit, et adversus Hamiltonios imbecillam ejus ætatem tutatus est, si per regis calamitatem regni occupandi spem conceperat? Nam minus invidiosum et periculosum illi erat cum Hamiltoniis, si rem perfecissent, perduellibus, de imperio decertare, quam sororis filium à matre regnique ordinibus tutelæ suæ commissum opprimere. Postremò, quid aliud quæso in causâ fuisse putas, cur Hamiltonii, qui tyrannidem adfectabant, in Moravii necem conspiraverint, quàm quod superstitute tam strenuo Regis infantis regnique vindice de successu desperarent? Ex adverso, apud animum tuum reputa familiarem plusquam oportuit reginæ, etiam ante parricidium, cum Botuelio consuetudinem; regis miseri apertum post Rîzii cædem odium, et ex eo contemptum; deinde post parricidium annitente Reginâ festinatum de Botuelli, qui non solum facti suspectus, sed omnium opinione quasi convictus habebatur, innocentiam judicium; moxque dissolutas turpiter Botuelli cum Gordoniam uxore nuptias, ut alias mox turpiores contraheret. Nam raptum illum quis non rideat? aut non potius ex iis, quæ memoravimus, necessariò colligat, ingentis animi fæminam, nisi suopre ingenio et præoccupatâ diu antè voluntate ad id fuisset inducta, nunquam tam facîle in illas nuptias fuisse consensuram, aut eas postea tam artificiosis literis apud nos excusaturam? verum hæc tecum, et semotis arbitris. Nam quenquam accusare, aut ullius de-

ensionem suscipere, neque his brevibus literis neque toto opere nostro institui. Ab omni insectatione et obrectatione, ut mens, sic stilus abest: et me plurima orationis lenitate moluisse, quæ alii acerbius scripserant, ipsâ lectione comperies. Rem, ut ex Scotorum, qui interfuerant, sermonibus didici, ita literis mandavi; et ad eorum fidem scripta à Buchanano expendi. De cætero nigrum in candidum in cujusquam gratiam convertere, neque animus ab initio fuit, neque nunc esse debuit. Itaque enixis precibus, quantum possum, pro jure amicitiae nostræ à te contendo, ut quoties in aulâ vestrâ inter procures, et in amicorum colloquiis, de me deque fide nostrâ in scribendâ historiâ mentio erit, toties horum argumentorum recorderis; efficiasque, ut omnes intelligant, me solâ muneris impositi necessitate coactum, quæ de ea re scripsi, scripsisse; nam alioqui famæ gloriæque Anglo-Scotici nominis ex animo favere, et hæc ipsa, quæ scripsi, sepulta maluisse, nisi jam ante publicâ famâ et aliorum scriptis innotuissent. Interim tibi summas gratias ago pro Hibernicarum rerum fragmento ad me misso, quod suo loco insertum videbis. Et quoniam te tam officiosum expertus sum, rogare non dubitabo, ut eandem diligentiam, quam antea non rogatus adhibuisti, in his recensendis adhibeas; et me per literas, quantum tibi à Britannia tuâ, quam avidissimè expectamus, otii supererit, amicè ut fecisti moneas.

You see, Sir, very plainly, every Thing entire, that passed de rebus Scoticis between Thuanus and Camden, from the Beginning of their Correspondence, to this Period of Time, Aug. 1606; viz. to the Publication of the second Volume in Folio, and the Third and Fourth Volumes in 8vo. by the Drouarts; which Part of the History, be pleased to observe, begins with the Year 1561, and ends in the Year 1572. I desire you likewise to observe further, that hitherto it does not appear that King James interposed at all in this Correspondence. On the contrary, it does most manifestly appear, by the Letter you have just now read, that such Advice as you have seen Camden gave in rebus Scoticis to Thuanus, the latter took absolutely to be Camden's private Sentiments.

I come next to give you an Extract of a Letter in 1608 from Thuanus to Camden, in Answer to one from Camden, dated in Nov. 1607; which Letter of Camden's
fo

so dated, I must, with Regret, tell you, is not among our MSS; and yet there are among them those very *Animadversiones in historias Thuanus* which Thuanus thanks him for in this Answer, (as is evident from one peculiar Passage in them, which not relating to the Matter before us, is needless to mention here; but shall be set forth in our Edition.) In those Animadversions there is nothing *de rebus Scoticis*: But, without Camden's Letter, Thuanus's Answer alone, does of itself afford such Matter for Observation, as I doubt not will give you full Satisfaction in the Subject we are considering.

Extract of a Letter from Thuanus to Camden, dated Eid. April. 1608. ex Syll. Camd. et illustr. viror. Epist. p. 97. *Has per manus D. Bongarsii accipies, viri mihi amicissimi, cujus nec opinata ad vos profectio effecit, ut in respondendo ad tuas Novembri præterito datas sim brevior. Eæ mihi seriùs redditæ fuerunt, quod excusationis loco dico, si citiùs ad te non scripsissem. Ago gratias pro animadversionibus in nostras historias ad me missis, quæ fidem faciunt, te legendis iis tempus impendere, inter tot meliores occupationes, minime grave duxisse. — Ad tuam Britanniam venio, opus omni meâ prædicatione majus, in quo fidem, diligentiam, judicium, et candorem simul licet admirari, quantum in nullo alio, qui simile opus aggressus sit. In Hibernicis jam multum profeci, et porro me profecturum sentio, si quando novissima nostra edentur; quod per horum temporum, hoc est, hominum qui nunc ubique rerum potiuntur, iniquitatem vix spero. ' Utinam quæ vestra sunt, et ad universam Britanniam spectant, pari compendio et simplicitate scripsisses. Sic enim factum esset, ut temperamentum, quod in Scoticis à me quidam fortassè sunt desideraturi, tuis vestigiis insistens, faciliùs securus essem; et in vestratium magnatum offensivam, quam vitatam cupiebam, non incurrissem. Sed cum neminem haberem præter Buchananum, necesse mihi omninò fuit seriem illius tragicæ narrationis, per alios eosque religioni protestantium minimè addictos antea adprobata, petere: ' ceterum omni insectatione omissa. Quanquam valde vereor, ne vel solâ ac nudâ mentione tam indignæ cædis ii exacerbentur, qui ad eum Buchananano infesti sunt. Ceterum ita sibi potentiores persuadere debent, si omnia sibi licere putant, licere quoque omnibus de ipsorum dictis factisque libere loqui*

et scribere. Et verè generosè Maximilianus II. Imperator, cui cum literæ Lazari Schuendii et Joannis Cratonis qui in ejus comitatu in summâ auctoritate erant, ab Augusto Saxone septemviro interceptæ ostenderentur, quibus illi mirâ libertate de ipsius moribus ac totius Aulæ Cæsareæ ingenio loquebantur, pensitatis diu illis hoc unum respondit, ut vivimus, ita de nobis præsens ac futura ætas sentit ac loquitur. Nimirum dura est provincia, quam sibi historiam scripturus imponit, si fide incorruptâ officio defungi cupit; quippe qui lege historiæ obligetur, non solum, ut nihil falsi dicat, sed etiam ut verum audeat dicere. Verum hæc missa facio, quæ tute scis ipse melius; et iterum pro misso ad me tam egregio munere gratias ago. Nova editio nostrarum historiarum sub prælo est, cui xxiii. libri accedent, ut omnino xxc. efficiantur. reliqui xlv. qui superant, alia tempora, alios mores postulant.

At the Time of the Date of this Letter of *Thuanus*, 57 Books (*i. e.* 23 short of 80) of his History, which extended it into the Year 1574, had been printed by the *Drouarts*, both in Folio and in Octavo. And it is most apparent, from the *express Words* of that Part of this Letter which I have printed in '*Roman*, that even thus far (*viz.* to the 57th Book, and the Year 1574,) *Camden* had not furnished any Thing in *rebus Scoticis* to *Thuanus*, besides the general Hints he gave him in his first Letter, where he advised him *medio ire*, which *Thuanus* as well here as in former Letters calls *temperamentum servare* or *sequi*, and wishes *Camden* had been more explicit.

As to the 23 Books which *Thuanus* says above he designed to add to his first 57; be it here observed, that those 23 Books, (which together with the former made 80,) were printed by *Drouart* in Folio, and came out in 1609. At the same Time I desire you will take particular Notice, that this Year (1609,) *Drouart* printed Nine of the Volumes of his Edition of *Thuanus* in *Duodecimo*, which took in 65 Books and extended into the Year 1578. The other two Volumes of that Edition, (containing the remaining 15 Books of 80, and carrying on the History to 1584) were kept back till the Year 1614.

I must now change the Scene, to the Correspondence between *Thuanus* and *Casaubon*: And shall, in the Course of it, give you Extracts of several Letters from each to the other, that have never yet been printed, and which I will distinguish from those that have. I will just premise, that tho' what Letters we have of theirs, printed or M. S. upon our present Subject, shall be given intire, (as well as those between *Thuanus* and *Camden*,) and placed orderly in our Edition; Yet in the *Extracts* I am now to give you, I shall select indifferently from those printed and those in M. S. such Passages only, as are sufficient to set this Subject in a distinct and clear Light.

Isaac Casaubon came over to England in October 1610. His first Letter to *Thuanus*, after his Arrival at London, is dated 15. Kal. Dec. 1610. an Extract of which, taken from the Collection of his Letters printed at Rotterdam 1709. in Folio pag. 362, is as follows. *Magnæ Britanniae Regem ut veni, ut vidi, et de rebus diversis differentem audiui, majorem famam suam inveni, et quotidie magis magisque invenio. Crede mihi, amplissime Thuane, nihil hodie sol videt hoc Principe humanius, nihil benignius, nihil literarum et omnis virtutis amantius. Adde eruditionem, quæ vel in privato homine ad veræ laudis adeptionem poterat sufficere; in Rege autem tanto, hisce præsertim temporibus, magni, si quid judico, instar miraculi queat censeri. Quid nunc commemorem ingens illud studium veri in omni re, et amorem omnium, qui eodem studio ducuntur? Quæ quidem res ita tibi, Præses illustrissime, Principem φιλαλιδέστατον conciliavit, ut nulla de re mecum sit frequentius adhuc locutus quàm de te et tuis historiis; de quibus si pari candore Romanenses judicarent! — At Rex te amat, te unum in eo genere scriptoris probat, et solum regnare cum paucis Veterum affirmat. Quid multa? audiui non semel dicentem, multis se Thuanum anteponebat Tacitis.*

Extract of a Letter from *Casaubon* to *Thuanus*, dated, Lond. 5 Kal. Mart. 1611. Ex Syll. Epist. Cas. pag. 372.
 ' Quas ad me nuper scripsisti, Præses amplissime, eas
 ' ego serenissimo potentissimoque Regi ostendi, &
 ' Majestati ipsius legendas exhibui. — Placuit Regi,
 ' veritatis amantissimo, tuus ille, quem iis literis abundè testaris, ejusdem veritatis amor. Placuit candor,
 ' quem profiteris, cum scribis, te si quid malè doctus

' nar.

narraſti ſecius, ubi melius doctus fueris, mutare &
 corrigere paratum eſſe. — Enimverò cùm ita ſis
 ipſe animatus, iniquiſſimo fert animo Rex, alioquin
 æquiſſimus, te in opere contexendo à certis homini-
 bus deceptum, & extra veri regionem longè abduc-
 tum, de gloriſſimi nominis Regina, ſemper vene-
 randa ſibi parente, ea perſæpe in literas retuliſſe, &
 quidem accuratâ diligentia κατὰ λεπτόν commemo-
 raſſe, quæ ſcit ejus Majeſtas, & ſcit certiſſimè, falſa
 eſſe, atque ab illis excogitata, quos univerſa novit
 Scotia perduelli animo erga τὴν μακαρίην fuiſſe; illi
 dum vixit, quibus poterant cumque modis & rationi-
 bus incommodaſſe, ac tandem conſilia omnia ſua,
 ſtudia, induſtriam, operam ad miſerandæ bonis Re-
 ginæ perniciem retuliſſe. Poſteà enim quàm ſemel
 in factiones Scotia fuit diviſa, dictu incredibile eſt,
 & memoratu horribile, quo furore pars ſereniſſimæ Re-
 ginæ contraria, in ipſam & eos qui illi adhærebant, ſit
 graſſata. — Quid verbis opus? reperti ſunt qui dic-
 tis, ſcriptis, factis, Regina ſereniſſimæ, meliori certè
 fortunâ digniſſimæ, res, famam, nomen, poſtremò vi-
 tam appetere, lædere, opprimere, pietatis officium
 eſſe ducerent. Solet ſereniſſimus Rex, cui cognomen
 OPTIMI ſui mores jure vindicant, de immanitate il-
 lorum temporum & rerum omnium confuſione multa
 narrare & mira. Nos plura & magis mira ab inte-
 gerrimis viris ſæpe audimus, qui reformationem tum
 in Scotia inſtitutam cætera probantes, factioſorum
 ἄγῃ ſine horrore commemorare non queunt. *Geor-
 gium Buchananum*, virum inſignem literarum laude,
 ſed meliorem proſectò Poëtam quàm ſubditum, fac-
 tioſis conſenſiſſe, & de Regina benigniſſima, Hera-
 ſua, atque ipſo regio nomine peſſimè fuiſſe meritum,
 nemo poteſt ignorare, qui ſcripta hominis non igno-
 ret. — Ut mirari non debeas, Majeſtatem ejus
 ferre non poſſe, quod in Regina matris rebus expo-
 nendis *Buchananum* tanto ſtudio ſis ſecutus, & male-
 voli hominis maledicta calamo digna cenſueris. Ne-
 que verò eſt, quod exiſtumes, Præſes ampliffime, id
 poſcere à te Regem, ut in ſuam gratiam, vel tranſ-
 verſum, quod aiunt, digitum à vero diſcedas: hoc
 poſcit, & ſuo jure exigit ab omnibus rerum Scripto-
 ribus, ne fallæ narrationes, à perfidis ſubditis im-
 mani auſu concinnatæ, pro veris criminibus poſte-
 ritati obrudantur. — Ut igitur tot calun-
 niis

* niis semel respondeatur, aut potius quò memo-
 * ria earum ex animis hominum deleatur, visum est
 * Regi piissimo faciendum, ut accuratam, certam, &
 * verissimam historiam rerum illarum curaret compo-
 * nendam, & ad te mittendam. Sperat enim Majestas
 * illius, non invitum facturum te, ut vera falsis secer-
 * nas, certa incertis, mendaciis ἀὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
 * Sperat hoc, inquam, de te Rex serenissimus, atque
 * adeò ut id facias, à te contendit. Est in hac urbe
 * nobilis Eques, [in a subsequent Letter he names him
 Sir Robert Cotton] homo pereruditus rerum vetustarum,
 * & omnis historiæ, sive priscæ sive recentis, studiosis-
 * simus; qui ex ipsis monumentis publicis & Epistolis
 * duarum Reginarum Angliæ & Scotiæ veram eorum,
 * quæ gesta sunt, Historiam didicit, & jam Regis jussu
 * eandem componit, digeritque in ordinem. Rex ipse,
 * quo nemo est hodie callentior istarum rerum, singula
 * recenset, atque ad exactissimam veritatis trutinam ex-
 * igit, missurus statim ad te, ut veram narrationem tuæ
 * Historiæ inferas, falsam & calumniarum plenam re-
 * jicias. Neque autem verendum tibi est, ne propte-
 * reà levitatis ullam apud bonos suspicionem incurras.
 * Laudabunt quinimò æqui & docti Judices omnes,
 * quòd ubi veritas primùm affulsit, καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἀναίρειν,
 * quod Philosophus ait, non sis cunctatus. Existimat
 * Rex serenissimus, è re futurum, si cùm novam nar-
 * rationem publicabis, Lectorem feceris certiozem,
 * quos olim, quos tunc, fueris secutus auctores.

Answer of Thuanus to the immediately foregoing
 Letter of Casaubon, dated Paris, 22 Mar. 1611.
 Ex M.S. J'ay receu la votre du 24 du passé.
 Vous m'avez aisement persuadé de faire le conte-
 nu en icelle au contentement de S. M. Car j'y
 estois fort disposé. Il ne doit s'esmourvoir si n'ai-
 ant autre histoire de ces tristes & miserables ac-
 cidens, qui en personnes si illustres ne peuvent estre te-
 nus secrets et cachez, que celle de celuy dont il se tient
 si grièvement offensé, et les autres n'en ayant parlé que
 confusement, sans expliquer les Causes particulieres,
 j'ay suivy celuy qui les avoit plus particularisez: En
 quoy s'il luy plaist y prendre de pres garde, il trouvera
 que j'ay beaucoup, et tant que j'ay pu adoucy les choses,
 et remis a la foy de celuy, duquel je les empruntois,
 les plus grieves. Je suis aussi bien aise, que vous soyez

souvenu de luy représenter, qu'en la grandeur terrible de ces accidens, me trouvant perplex, j'ai communiqué et pris le conseil d'aucuns Escossois anciens, qui s'estoient trouvez en ces entrefaittes, mesmement des Catholiques, estimant leur foy en ce subiect moins suspecte. S. M. peut connoistre par cela quelle religion et modération j'ay apporté à cette partie d'histoire, aiant toujours craint et appréhendé qu'elle ne s'en sentit offensée : Mais puisque Dieu a voulu qu'elle ait pris le conseil que m'écrivez, qui est de m'envoyer de meilleures et plus certaines instructions de ces choses, que celles que j'ay suivies, les ayant receues il connoistra que n'ayant eu autre but en tout mon travail que d'escrire les choses au vray et sans haine ni grace, si tost que cette verité, que j'ay par tout cherchée, me sera représentée, je l'embrasseray, et laisserai le faux et incertain pour le vrai et l'assuré. Mon Histoire a esté exposée au public du commencement, non tant comme un œuvre du tout achevé, ains pour recevoir en un si grand œuvre les jugemens de plusieurs, et suivant iceus corriger, augmenter, changer, remettre ce qui s'y trouveroit avoir de defect par omission ou mauvaise information des choses. De cela pouvez vous assurer sa M., et qu'il n'y a personne aujourd'huy qui favorise plus sa gloire, et tout ce qui lui touche, que moi, comme je desire lui tesmoigner en toutes les occasions qu'il peut attendre d'un bon Francois, et amateur de la verité, et de son nom.

Extract of a Letter from Thuanus to Casaubon, dated Paris, 17. June 1611. Ex. MS. J'ay regu le 13. du present les memoires que m'avez envoyé de la part du Serenissime Roi de la Grande Bretagne. J'eusse désiré les avoir peu avoir lorsque premièrement je me mis a escrire les choses de lxvii et lxviii. Mais estant destitué de toutes autres histoires, hors mis celle, qui les a escrit avec tant d'aigreur; tout ce que je peüs, ce fust de les adoucir le plus que je pouvois, n'aiant autre conduite neantmoins en cela, que la meme histoire. Vous estes tesmoin combien j'ay sué et d'esprit et de corps sur ce subiect, prevoyant ce qui en est arrivé. Je vous en ay parlé souvent, et vous ay dict, comme je m'estois travaillé de sçavoir la verité des choses par les Escossois Catholiques, qui à cause de la Religion estoient
icy

icy refugiez. Je ne pouvois faire autre chose. J'ay souvent desiré que tout cela se pût passer par le silence. Mais les morts des Grands, et les changemens qui en arrivent aux estats, ne permettent que si grandes choses passent par la loy de l'oubliance. Je prendray le loisir de revoir ce que j'ay escrit, et l'accommoder en tant que je pourray suivant les memoires. Mais j'ai besoin de ce qui s'est passé depuis l'an lxxii. jusques ou vont les memoires que m'avez envoyé, au moins jusques à la mort indigne mais genereuse de la Roine Marie; & la mort aussi du Conte de Morton, car entre ce temps sont arrivées plusieurs choses en Escosse, qui peuvent servir à ce que l'on desire de moi; en quoi je n'omettrai rien de ce qu'on peut attendre d'un homme de bien, et qui n'a recherché en tout ce grand travail que la gloire de la verité. C'est pourquoy je vous prie de faire que le surplus me soit envoyé le plustost que faire se pourra. Car les affaires sont enchainées, et faut voir la suite sur un mesme aspect, pour en faire plus asseuré et certain jugement. Quand j'auray le tout, je scauray bien faire mon profit des particularitez, pour sans soupçon de faveur faire paroistre la verité telle que l'on desire. Cela s'entend mieux par ceux qui ont le jugement experimenté en telles affaires, qu'il ne se peut exprimer par lettres.

Extract of a Letter from Casaubon to Thuanus, dated Lond. 5 Eid. Jul. 1611. Ex Syll. Epist. Casaub. p. 427. *Serenissimus Rex, audito accepisse te historiam à se missam, letus eo nuncio, jussit me serio tibi confirmare. omnia esse vera, quæ decem illis libris continentur. Cætera brevi promittit se misurum.*

Extract of a Letter from Casaubon to Thuanus, dated Lond. pridie Kal. Jan. 1611. Ex MS. *Significatum mihi est, Serenissimum Regem partem alteram historiæ nuper institutæ ad tuam præstantiam mittere. Ego illam videre non potui; sed constat mihi Regem ipsum, quo nemo vivit hodie harum rerum peritior, omnia legisse, expendisse, correxisse. Itaque siquid in humanis rebus potest esse certi, habes autorem locupletem, cujus fidem ἀναμνηστικῶς sequi possis. Optat ejus Majestas, ut tuam historiam recenseas, et quæ ex ista didiceris Emendationis opus habere, emendes.*

Extract of a Letter from Casaubon to Thuanus dated Lond. 4 Kal. Mart. 1612. Ex M. S. *Jussus sum ante paucos dies a serenissimo Rege, ad Majestatem ip-*

suus proficisci : Non alia de causa, quam ut ea cognoscerem quæ de te ei Lutetia fuerunt significata. Ille enim Anglus, qui historiae Cottonianæ X. libros nuper ad te detulit; litteras mox ad D. Cottonem dedit, quibus hæc narrabantur : Non statuisse te novam editionem librorum tuorum à te recognitorum, nisi post annos haud scio quam multos, publicare. Quod multa adhuc priorum editionum penès Typographum restarent exemplaria. Tum autem multa in missa à Rege historia, invenire te, quorum fidem suspectam haberes : Esse enim Scotum nescio quem, nomine Colvillum, qui in dubium pleraque vocaret; teque illi Scoto mirum quantum tribuere. Quod si Regis animo plane sederet, id a te velle exigere, ut quæ prius scripsisti emendares ex historia Cottoniana, profiteri te, non aliter id posse abs te impetrari, quam si Rex ipse hoc a te exegisset, et suamet ipsius manu auctor tibi credendi illa scribendique fuisset. Addebat etiam ille Anglus, vix ac ne vix quidem persuaderi tibi posse, Comitem Morraëm, cujus in rebus Scoticis multa mentio, alium fuisse quam virum probum et fidei ac prudentiæ singularis, prout est a te descriptum. Hæc quum serenissimus Rex ex Anglicis illius quem indicavi litteris mihi recitasset, mirari se vehementer dixit, quid accidisset cur priorem sententiam mutares; se namque idcirco novam historiam curasse scribi et ad te mitti, quia visus esses id expetere, neque recusare quin veritatem rerum gestarum certius edoctus, tua corrigeres. Atque hic fidem meam Rex appellabat, meminisse jubens, quoties hoc ego ipsius Majestati partim meâ sponte, partim ex literis tuis confirmassem. Imprimis verò demiratur Ser. Rex, plus apud te ponderis habere paucos rebelles, proditoris reos et maculosos transfugas, quam suum testimonium et Scotici regni universi. Nihil enim, aiebat, ut verum prodi cupio, quod non sit certæ et exploratæ fidei apud omnes Scotiæ viros bonos et subditos fideles. Buchanani historiam et id genus narrationes non a se primò damnatas, sed juvene se et vix dum decimum quartum vel quintum annum agente, decreto Parlamenti Scòtici, uti vocavit, et historiam illam et libellum illum famosum læsæ Majestatis esse postulatos et damnatos; quod etiam ex eo possit intelligi, quia neque historia Buchanani, neque similis ulla alia, in Scotiâ fuerit edita. Colvillis autem, et cæteris hoc genus perduellibus, suis et gloriosissi-

inæ memoria matris suæ manifestis hostibus, fidem in istis rebus haberi, et quidem a te, tantæ gravitatis et φιλαλληθείας viro, id vero Ser. Rex indignissimo fert animo, et insignitam in eo sibi fieri injuriam interpretatur. Morræi ingenium et mores non aestimat Rex ex incertis rumoribus, aut frivolis conjecturis: Sed ex rebus gestis, quarum veritas sibi uni melius sit comperta, quam cuiquam mortalium. Acta publica se cum curâ inspexisse, singula diligenter expendisse, nihil denique prætermisisse, quod certius ad veri sæpe in abdito latitantis, cubile perveniret. Postremo jussit me regia Majestas quæ à se audissem tibi exponere; atque illud etiam addere, si à conventionem priore ipse resilires, neque petitionis suæ longè æquissimæ rationem habere velles, daturum se operam, ut veram ipse historiam publicet, eademque opera et gloriosissimæ principis matris suæ honori consulat, et de factâ sibi abs te injuria publico scripto tecum expostulet; quod tamen Rex nunquam facturum nisi admodum invitatus et coactus, pro ea benevolentia quâ te prosequitur, et honore quem tuis excellentissimis virtutibus habet, cujus sui affectûs tot testes habet, quot sunt qui de te ipsum audiverunt hætenus loquentem. Hanc ego optimi Regis orationem excipiens, non dubitavi affirmare etiam atque etiam Majestati ipsius Anglum illum, cujus litteras manibus tenebat, non esse ejus apud me fidei, ut plus illi tribuerem quam perspectæ mihi et penitus exploratæ prudentiæ tuæ; fieri posse, ut parum ipse tuam mentem cepisset, aut durius quam par esset tua verba esset interpretatus. Fortasse etiam dictum illi aliquod excidisse, cujus gratia factum esset, ut tu ipsum minus familiari vultu acciperes. Hinc illas Τετραδίας. Petii ad extremum à Regis Majestate, ut priusquam priorem suam erga te benevolentiam immutaret, pateretur ut, postquam hæc ipse tibi significassem, veritatem rei cesseret, et sermones inter te et illum Anglum habitas, nobis exponeres. Confidere me, atque adeo πεποιδότως Majestati ipsius spondere in omnibus, tuam illustrem dignitatem esse illi satisfacturam. Nam de mora quidem, propter exemplaria reliqua, leve esse quod objiceretur; tibi in editione historiarum tuarum nihil meti, nihil seri: Ad Typographum ut lucrum sic et damnum pertinere. Non posse autem jure cogi Typographum ut suo ipse sibi jumento malum quærat. Non negavit Rex aquam esse et honestam

nestam orationem meam, ac statim in ea responsione acquievit. De cæteris, tuam responsionem Rex avide expectat; quam ut persuadeo mihi fore æquam et justam, sic æquissimo justissimoque principi non dubito fore acceptam.

Answer of *Thuanus* to the immediately foregoing Letter of *Casaubon*, dated *Paris 15. Mar. 1612.*
Ex M. S. ‘ J’ay receu celle que m’avez escrit du 26
 ‘ du passé. *L’Anglois* mentionné en la votre n’a pas
 ‘ fait entendre de bonne foy, soit faute d’intelligence,
 ‘ ou autrement, au Seigneur *Cotton*, ce que je luy ay
 ‘ dit. Car s’il l’eust fait, le Ser. Roy de la *Grande*
 ‘ *Bretagne* n’eust eu subject de vous dire ee qu’il vous
 ‘ a chargè de m’écrire. Car l’*Anglois* m’estant ve-
 ‘ nu trouver, apres plusieurs propos que nous eusmes
 ‘ ensemble fort familièrement, la conclusion fust, car
 ‘ je ne me souviens bonnement du surplus, que pour
 ‘ le desir extreme que j’avois de faire que S. M. fut
 ‘ contente de moy, je le priois de faire entendre au
 ‘ Seigneur *Cotton*, que l’on m’eust fait un singulier
 ‘ plaisir, de me prescrire nommement ce que l’on
 ‘ vouloit estre osté, changé, & adjousté sur ce sujet
 ‘ en mon histoire: non que j’aye desiré ou exigé,
 ‘ comme vous m’escrivez qu’il a fait entendre, que de
 ‘ cela me fust escrit ni commandé par S. M. à quoy je
 ‘ n’ay jamais pensé; ains seulement j’ay desiré parmi
 ‘ les occupations que j’ay, qui ne me permettent de
 ‘ vacquer maintenant à ceste estude, comme autres
 ‘ fois, que je fusse en cela soulagé & instruit de façon,
 ‘ que je ne peusse tomber derechef en l’inconvenient
 ‘ où je me voi maintenant précipité contre ma volon-
 ‘ té. Car vous m’estes témoin, comme j’ay toujours
 ‘ dès le commencement craint, qu’en ce passage je ne
 ‘ peusse satisfaire à mon desir au contentement de S.
 ‘ M. et n’y a chose qui m’ait tant travaillé l’esprit en
 ‘ toute mon histoire, que ce seul point. Quand à ce
 ‘ que vous m’escrivez touchant l’edition future, cela
 ‘ a esté aussi peu fidelement raporté que le reste.
 ‘ Car comme il me demanda si je faisois reimprimer
 ‘ mon histoire, je lui respondis, que le Libraire à qui
 ‘ j’avois baillé le privilege, à mon jugement, ne se
 ‘ laisseroit persuader de la r’imprimer sifost; & qu’il
 ‘ y auroit assez de loisir entre ci & là de faire la cor-
 ‘ rection & mutation que l’on desiroit. Quand à ce
 ‘ que je lui dis de *Colville*, ce n’estoit en intention,
 ‘ qu’il

' qu'il le fist entendre par delà ; & ne fust autre chose,
 ' que desiré de scavoir d'un homme, qui ne devoit
 ' vray semblablement favoriser la memoire du Comte
 ' de *Morreï*, à cause de la haine de la Religion, si il
 ' estoit soubconné en *Escosse* d'avoir participé au par-
 ' ricide ; je le priaï de me dire ce qu'il en scavoit,
 ' & je crois que deslors je vous le dis. Cela ne me-
 ' ritoit d'estre rescrit à S. M. Enfin, je suis en la
 ' meme volonté que j'ay toujours esté, de faire tout
 ' ce que je pourray pour le contentement de S. M. ;
 ' & pour le mieux faire je desire non seulement
 ' d'estre fourni de memoires par le dit Seigneur
 ' *Cotton* ; mais aussi afin de n'y retourner à deux
 ' fois, que l'on me prescrivit particulierement &
 ' fort distinctement comme l'on vouloit que le
 ' tout fut escrit. Car il y a grand Interest, comme
 ' vous savez, en quels terms, en quel ordre, & avec
 ' quel jugement l'on escrit. Il m'est besoin en cela
 ' d'estre conduict & aidé. C'est ce que j'ai dit &
 ' redit à l'*Anglois*, lequel ne l'a ou bien entendu, ou
 ' fidelement raporté. Cela me fait vous prier de
 ' remonstrer au Ser. Roy de la *Grande Bretagne*, que
 ' quand S. M. me voudra faire entendre quelque
 ' chose de sa part, ou qu'elle voudra scavoir quelque
 ' chose de moy, qu'elle se serve de vous ; & adjouste
 ' plustost foy à ce qui lui sera dit par vous, qu'à tout
 ' autre rapport qui luy pourra estre fait. Voila ce
 ' que je vous peus respondre sur ce sujet, bien fasché
 ' que ma bonne volonté ait esté si mal interpretée &
 ' receüe par S. M. que sur tous les Princes de
 ' Chrestienté j'honore & affectionne comme je dois,
 ' lui aiant voüé tout le service qu'il peut attendre
 ' d'un homme de bien.

Extract of a Letter from *Thuanus* to *Casaubon*
 dated *Paris*, 8 May, 1612. *Ex M. S.* ' J'ai receu
 ' la votre du 18 du passé. — J'attendois quelque
 ' responce, sur la Lettre que je vous ai écrite, de S.
 ' M. qui adoucit les rigoureuses paroles que m'aviez
 ' fait entendre de sa part. Elle devoit estre mieux
 ' informée de la verité, devant que s'aigrir de telle
 ' façon contre un homme de bien & plein de candeur
 ' par son temoignage même.

Extract of a Letter from *Thuanus* to *Casaubon*,
 dated *Paris* 27 May 1612. *Ex M. S.* ' J'ay à re-
 ' pondre à deux de vos Lettres du iii. & xv. de ce
 ' mois,

‘ mois, par lesquelles je connois & avec indicible
 ‘ contentement, que le Roy de la *Grande Bretagne*
 ‘ a esté mieux informé par vous de mon intention
 ‘ droite & affection tres humble à son service, pre-
 ‘ nant de bonne part mes raisons, qu’il n’avoit esté
 ‘ par l’*Anglois*, mauvais interprete de mes paroles.
 ‘ Dont je vous remercie de toute affection, &
 ‘ vous supplie me conserver toujours en ses bonnes
 ‘ graces, & faire que le reste du Regne de la Se-
 ‘ renissime Reine *Elisabeth* me soit envoyé. Car ce
 ‘ que j’en ay, ne vient que jusques à l’an 82 du
 ‘ siecle passé.

Extract of a Letter from *Casaubon* to *Thuanus*,
 dated *Lond. Kal. Jul. 1612. Ex Syll. Ep. Ca-*
saub. p. 474. ‘ Scripsi aliquoties ad te, *Cottonium*
 ‘ ab urbe abesse, in contexenda Historia occupatum.
 ‘ Nuper quum mihi serenissimus Rex indicasset, ip-
 ‘ sum esse in urbe, memor tuorum mandatorum, sta-
 ‘ tim adii. Respondit, se totum in eo esse, ut
 ‘ cœptam historiam absolvat; quam ipse *Anglico*
 ‘ sermone componit, *Camdenus Latinam facit.*

From this Letter it appears, that *Casaubon* thought
 it would be News to *Thuanus* in *July 1612*, (full
 Sixteen Months from the Time K. *James* told him
 he had set Sir *Robert Cotton* to work) that *Camden*
 was at all engaged in this Affair; and that it was
 indeed so, will be seen presently.

For now, not because *Casaubon* has accidentally
 started *Camden's* Name; but being led by the Course
 of Dates and Things, I come to give *Camden's* own
 Account of this Matter.

You will recollect, Sir, that in the last Letter I
 have given you from *Thuanus* to *Camden*, dated in
April 1608, *Thuanus* concludes by telling him, that
 he designed to stop at the 80th Book of his History,
 reserving the Publication of the rest for *better Times*.
 Now, (besides that we have, indeed, no Letters of
 theirs during the Interval of Time I am going to
 mention,) I think the Beginning of the following
 Letter from *Camden* shews plain enough, that their
 Correspondence had stood suspended from *April*
1608, to *August 1612*.

Extract of a Letter from *Camden* to *Thuanus*, da-
 ted *Westminster 10. Aug. 1612. Ex M. S.* ‘ Lætissi-
 ‘ mus

mus intellexi ex tuis ad communem nostrum ami-
 cum Dominum *Georgium Carew* literis, te posteros
 et tui monumentum adhuc cogitare; i. e. in sus-
 cepto historiarum opere progredi, et funestum il-
 lum *Henrico* vestro maximo diem tibi terminum con-
 stituisse: Acceperam enim jampridem à nonnullis,
 te ad summa in Repub. Munia evocatum, et homi-
 num iniquitate qui veritatem ferre non possunt, ma-
 gis quàm *Rom.* Pontificis censurâ deterritum, om-
 ne scribendi consilium omninò abjecisse. Hinc cer-
 tè diuturno silentio ego indulsi. Cum autem il-
 lis in literis innueris, multos te ad opus absol-
 vendum excitare, paucos opem conferre et errata
 docere; ignoscas, si pro perpetuo meo in tuam
 Ἀλῆθειας et in te studio, ego comiter in re tan-
 tilla, sc. Chorographicâ, ostendam viam rectam,
 à quâ Ductoris tui et Typographi incuria, in Libro
 70. pag. 347, B, te abduxit: [And then he gives
 him several Emendations, which shall be specified
 in our Edition.] Alia alibi erant, sed à Ty-
 pographis in propriis nominibus. Verùm ea
 emendentur ex Commentariis Domini *Cottoni*, quos
 tibi ab anno, quo primus tuarum historiarum to-
 mus primùm prodierit, destinatos, ad tuas manus
 bono fato pervenisse jam primus audio et ex ani-
 mo tacitus gaudeo. Antea enim tantùm excerpta
 ex illis de rebus *Scoticis*, Regis jussu ad te trans-
 missa audivi. Illos (nec me composita fabulari ex-
 istimes) anno 1596. authore et suafore *Cecilio*
Burghleio Anglia Quæstore inchoavi, qui sua tabu-
 laria mihi aperuit, in quibus etsi per annos dispo-
 sita, historica cum fiscalibus et id genus aliis erant
 confusissima. Multa tamen mihi inde adnotavi,
 mea ipsius scrinia excussi, qui ut antiquitatis studio-
 sus, ita recentium non incuriosus multa observavi,
 vidi, audivi præsens, omnia edicta hinc indè
 collegi, Parliamentaria scita percurri, multa à vi-
 ris qui rebus gerendis præfuerunt et interfuerunt
 accepi, sed longè plurima è *Roberti Cottoni* Biblio-
 theca, qui rei Antiquariæ et Historiæ supellesti-
 lem copiosissimam et lautissimam, ipsissima sanè
 principum legatorum autographa, documenta, con-
 sultationes et id genus cætera, magno pretio et fe-
 lici industria sibi comparavit. Ex his Annales re-
 rum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante *Eliza-*
 G *betha*

* *betha* concinnare cœpi, quos in *Germania* nomine
 * suppresso imprimere, tibiq; inscribere destinavi, ut
 * tu inde, quæ visum, decerperis. Ecce autem cùm
 * vix prima lineamenta duxerim, necdum ad finem
 * pervenerim, Comes *Northamptonius* mihi obvi-
 * * *rogavit*, ut *protinus Roberto Cottono* impertirem, qui
 * Regi communicaret, Regem enim percupere ut le-
 * gerit. Dicto obtemperavi, et omnia quæ descripta
 * habui, nè relecta quidem, nedùm recognita, *Cottono*
 * tradidi, et sui juris arbitrii; feci; et suo quidem
 * merito, qui materiem, præcipuè vero *Scoticam*,
 * tam abundè convexit. Nec ego sanè laudi veli-
 * fico, qui cùm apud nostros inertiae crimen effuge-
 * rim jam sexagenarius Deo vacare, et priorè vita, ut
 * inquit ille, frui apud me statui. Usu enim hæc
 * tempora et hos mores calleo, at tu melius; me-
 * miniq; quod vester *Arvernus* olim scripsit, et tu
 * fortè expertus, *Scriptoris Historica inchoatio in-
 * * dia, continuatio labor, finis odium*. Cæterum, uti-
 * * nam ad tuas manus limati pervenissent; in exem-
 * plari quod nuper vidi plurima observavi manca,
 * mutila, hiulca, et verbula quædam librarii audacia
 * immutata. Quid de illis fiet tu à rege edoctus op-
 * timè nosti, totos scio in tuum opus non transfe-
 * res, et multa credo omittes, quæ nostros scire juvet
 * et fortasse intersit. Quocunque *Sydere* nati sunt,
 * apprecor, quod abortivis et projectitiis solent paren-
 * tes, ut sint vitales. Sed hæc tibi soli et *Sigalioni*.

The Letter you have been reading, Sir, was co-
 pied from the Original, which is preserved in *France*.
 It happens that I have in my Hands the first Draughts
 of several Letters of *Camden* in his own Hand-wri-
 ting, for the Use of which I am obliged to *John*
Anstis, Esq; Garter King at Arms: Among them
 is the Draught of this Letter, and luckily there
 are two Words in the Draught which were left
 out of the fair Copy sent to *Tbuanus*, that are
 very material to my present Purpose. In the Letter
 it is said, *Comes Northamptonius mihi obvi-
 * * vit*; in the Draught it is *Comes Northamptonius*
*mihi ante annum obvi-
 * * rogavit*. This fixes the Time
 when the Earl of *Northampton* signified King
James's Pleasure in this Affair to *Camden*; I say it
 fixes it to the Year 1611: For *Camden*, using the
 same

same Phrase, begins the Preface to the first Part of his *Annales* which he published in 1615, by saying, that *ante annos octodecim* (i. e. before 1597) the Lord *Burghleigh* put him upon that Work; and in this very Letter he says that was in 1596.

I am sure, Sir, you could not pass over that Part of this Letter, where *Camden* mentions his secret Design of printing in *Germany* his History of Queen *Elizabeth* without his Name, and dedicating it to *Thuanus*; without wishing (as you will presently see *Thuanus* did) that his Project had not been prevented by K. *James's* commanding his Papers suddenly out of his Hands.

Thuanus's Answer to this Letter of *Camden's* is printed in Dr. *Smith's* Collection, p. 139. viz.

Extract of a Letter from *Thuanus* to *Camden*, dated from *Villebon* (a Seat of *Thuanus's*) in the Easter Hollidays of the Year 1613. ' Quod serius ad
' tuas respondeam, noli succensere. *D. Casaubonum*,
' ut me apud te excusaret, semel atque iterum per
' literas rogavi, occasionem scilicet opperiens, quâ
' tibi per otium pro literis amantissimis et studio
' erga me tuo gratias agerem. — Alacritatem il-
' lam pristinam in persecundâ Historiâ nostrâ, de
' quâ lætari te dicis, multa, quæ ab eo tempore in-
' ciderunt, valdè imminuerunt; sparsi de me à me
' meoque ingenio alieni apud vos rumores, et agita-
' ta super eâ re consilia, quæ benevolum antea op-
' timi principis vestri erga me animum non parum la-
' befactarunt, tum quod ipse extremis tuis addis. His
' accessit nunquam non mihi deplorandus viri amplis-
' simi *Georgii Carew* immaturus obitus, cujus in amici-
' tiâ, cum magnum ornamentum, et ad ea quæ parabam
' non parvum subsidium, tum ad removendas calum-
' nias summum mihi in Aulâ vestra præsidium reposi-
' tum putabam. — Ad Commentarios *D. Cottoni*
' quod attinet, scito duabus vicibus eos ad me jussu
' serenissimi Regis missos, qui res vestras pertexunt
' usque ad annum præteriti seculi lxxxii: nam re-
' liqua usque ad excessum *μαρκελλίδος παυβασίως*,
' quorum is, qui mihi ultimam partem attulit, ipsem
' certam fecerat, quodque unice cupiebam, ad me
' missa non sunt. In iis te præcipuam partem vin-
' dicare tunc nesciebam, & habeo gratias pro tam

* honorificâ in eâ re in me voluntate, quæ utinam
 * suum fortita esset effectum, neq; ex occasione, quam
 * scribis, mutasset. Interim iis usus sum, et plera-
 * que in jam editis ex illis supplevi, multa correxi,
 * et ad annos suos revocavi; sicuti ex proximâ edi-
 * tione apparebit; in iis, quæ supersunt, idem factu-
 * rus, si à *D. Cottono* commendatione tuâ impetrare
 * possum, ut eodem candore, quo superiora, mecum
 * illa communicare non gravetur. Auget desiderium,
 * quod nunc sciam ea à te profecta esse, hoc est, fide
 * certa et accuratâ diligentia scripta, ut ut male à li-
 * brario descripta: quod te observasse dicis, et ego
 * itidem notavi; sed ita ut non Auctori, quem tunc
 * ignorabam, aut alium putabam, id imputandum
 * existimarem.

I now return to *Thuanus's* Correspondence with
Casaubon.

Extract of a Letter from *Thuanus* to *Casaubon*, dated
Paris 24 Feb. 1614. Ex M. S. ' Pour M. *Coton*, j'ay prié
 * M. l'Ambassadeur, qui est maintenant par delà,
 * d'impetrer du Roy de la *Grande Bretagne* qu'il
 * m'envoye le surplus de ses Memoires, de quoy je
 * vous supplie le vouloir solliciter, et en parler avec
 * M. l'Ambassadeur; J'entends M. *Edmond*. Ce mal
 * avisé, que vous scavez, qui escrit si imprudem-
 * ment par delà, est cause de ce mal entendu. Je
 * pensois que ce que je vous avois escrit depuis, et
 * que M. de *Boüillon* en avoit dit au Roy, eust ef-
 * facé ces mauvaises impressions. Mais à ce que je
 * voy cela dure encore, et vous supplie partant
 * de prendre occasion d'en reparler à *S. M.* Je vous
 * peus assurer que j'ay fait fort mon profit de ce qui
 * m'a esté ja envoyé, et j'ai inferé chacune piece
 * en son lieu, comme il se verra par la premiere
 * edition, laquelle, si elle a esté retardée jusques icy,
 * le retardement venant de la paresse et avarice des
 * libraires ne me doit attirer l'Indignation d'un si
 * Grand Prince, que j'honore, et à la gloire duquel
 * et grandeur je favorise de tout mon cœur. Faites
 * donc, si il est possible, que ce reste me soit en-
 * voyé, et vous servez de M. *Camden* en cette pour-
 * suite, et auquel je bese les mains, n'ayant reçu la
 * lettre qu'il m'a écrite de Juillet dernier, que de-
 * puis trois ou quatre jours. Je bese aussy les mains

‘ a M. *Coton*, et le supplie de m’obliger de cette grace.
 ‘ J’ai envoyé à M. *Camden* le x. tome de nos hi-
 ‘ stoirs forma 12mo. J’attends de luy sa diligence
 ‘ accoutumée in *Britannicis*, vous l’en ferez souvenir.

If. Casaubon's Death, in *June 1614*, put an End to this Correspondence.

By the foregoing Extracts it appears, that King *James* was much dissatisfied at what the Person who carried over to *Paris* Part of the Papers from Sir *Robert Cotton*, wrote back of his Conversation with *Thuanus*; and that *Thuanus* found he could not by all his Representations entirely efface the ill impressions of him, which that Person had made upon the Mind of the King. To this Dissatisfaction; and to the Delay of the new Edition that the King expected of *Thuanus's* History from its Beginning, (which Delay He might imagine was affected,) may, I think, be imputed the sudden Resolution that Prince took, about the Beginning of *March 1615*, to order *Camden* to publish forthwith so much of his Annals as his Majesty had perused, and which was sufficient for his Purpose, as extending a little beyond the Time of the Queen his Mother's Death.

Among the Draughts of *Camden's* Letters in his own Handwriting, are three upon this Head. One, is without Date, or Name of the Person to whom it was addressed: But I make no Doubt it was written in *June 1615*, and to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, then Ambassadour at *Paris*, with whom M. *Beaulieu* (called in the Letter *Bellieu*) lived; for there is a Letter to *Camden* from this M. *Beaulieu*, dated in *July 1615*, in *Smith's* Collection, p. 154. that has manifestly Relation to the Contents of this, which I am going to give you from *Camden's* Draught.

My good L.

‘ It pleased his Majestie when he went to *Cam-*
 ‘ *bridge* in the Beginning of *March*, to give a War-
 ‘ rant, contrary to my Expectation, for the printing
 ‘ and publishing so much of my Annales as he had
 ‘ perused; uppon what Motive, unlesse it were oute
 ‘ of *France*, I cannott imagine, you happily maye.
 ‘ They being now so farre forth finished, I could
 ‘ nott in Regard of my duetifull Observance toward
 ‘ your Ldp, and your mutuall kind affection toward
 me,

me, but present you with one of them, only desiring that Mr. Bellieu may cause the other to be delivered according to the several Directions att his convenient Leaseure.

The Words *contrary to my Expectation*, were interlined after the Word *Warrant*, and afterwards cross'd out.

Another Draught is dated 8 Junii 1615, but without the Name of the Person to whom it is written. Yet from some Expressions in it, I take it to be to *Tbuanus*, and that his Answer to the fair Copy (dated three Days after the Draught) is in *Smith's* Collection, p. 153.

Extract. 'Habe à me annales rerum nostrarum regnante *Elizabetha* ad annum 1589, jam prælo inerudito recentes, quos Rex noster Sereniss. in-eunte *Martio* jussit quamprimùm excudi; cujus consilio, nisi fortean tuo, vel à te, planè nescio. Hoc certum prævideo, eandem odii segetem & infelix lolium, ex veritatis studio, quæ tibi luxuriant, jam mihi succrescere, & ex earundem quidem vesparum fimo. Sed feramus, bona conscientia semper tuta semper secura. Quicquid erit, contumeliarum tela patientiæ clypeo excipiamus.

The Words *præter expectationem* are written at the Top of this Draught, but without any Mark where to insert them.

The third Draught is dated Aug. 6. 1615, and addressed to *Janus Gruterus*.

Extract. 'Quod superioribus nundinis vernalibus ad te non scripserim, in causa fuit præcipitata editio partis *Annalium meorum*, Rege jubente. Hoc enim præter expectationem ille imperavit, cui parendum; cum sola Obsequii gloria subditis sit relicta. Ex veritatis studio infelix odii Lolium mihi ut aliis id genus scriptoribus, in hoc religionis & animorum dissidio, succrescere prospicio. Sed hæc missa facio, qui bonæ conscientiæ plus quam famæ attendo. Exemplar ex inerudito prælo mea manu castigatum, ad te destinavi.

Camden's first Part of his *Annales* being thus published in 1615; we must now carry our Attention to what he says in his Preface relating to *Tbuanus*. Which is this. 'In his [Annalibus] concinnandis, limandis, et perpoliendis, omne subcissæ industriæ cur-

mi optimo Grutere,
mihi certe tanto
cogitationis curatio
indignanter succensui:
ed

tum
Est ex
succur-
o. Sed

curriculum conficere, atque supremis tabulis, amplissimo viro Jacobo Augusto Thuano, qui historiam sui temporis summa fidei, et modestæ laude inchoavit, legare destinavi. Ne quod exteri solent, ille mihi cum primis charus, in rebus nostris tanquam hospes in republica aliena peregrinaretur.

Ecce autem, hoc consilium, nescio quo fato, mihi præreptum, et magna pars eorum ante aliquot annos ad eum transmissa, dum adhuc primis lineamentis adumbrati, et vix inchoati jacerent, lituris et lacunis deformati, segmentis hinc inde assutis, mendis, ut tumultuante calamo exciderunt, scatentes, et à librario pessimè accepti. Ex his ille Tomo suæ Historiæ Undecimo, et Duodecimo, paucula demendo, mutando, addendo, sed recto sanè cum judicio, inter-polata, intexuit. Cum autem ille pro suscepti operis ratione (universalem enim sui temporis historiam aggressus) pauca Anglica et Hibernica decerpserit, plurima qua nostros cognoscere juvet, et forsan intersit, pretermiserit; et ego rerum nostrarum notitiam ab exteris non sine convitio efflagitari audiverim; humeros oneri aliquandiu subductos iterum apposui, totos relegi, recognovi, plurima addidi, et aliquem orationis cultum adbibui, sed sine conquistis verborum lenociniis.

Upon these Passages of this Preface, I observe, First, a Mistake, where it is said that Thuanus had made his Use of Camden's Papers in Tomo suæ Historiæ Undecimo et Duodecimo. This I imputed meredito pralo: And finding in Dr. Smith's *Vita Camdeni*, that all the printed Books of his Library were first put into Sir Robert Cotton's and afterwards into that of the Church of Westminster, I entertained Hopes of finding among those Books an *Exemplar manu ipsius Camdeni castigatum*, like that he sent to Gruter: And therefore I applied to the Rev. Dr. Willes Prebendary of that Church, who readily did me the Favour to search among the Books of Camden's Donation, but found not one Piece of Camden's writing there: He then looked among the Books which were in that Library before that Donation, and found the *Annales* Fol. Lond. 1615, but without any Corrections. He also looked into the Library belonging to Westminster School, of which Camden was many Years Master, but found there

As for in the Book corrected & improved Camden's own hand. As for this writer might learn from the 1st Edition, from the 2nd & improved

there only the *Leyden* Edition of the said Annals, printed in Octavo after the Author's Death, and with the same Preface unaltered. Then I had Recourse to Mr. *Casley* Sub-Librarian of the King's and *Cotton* Libraries, who shewed me the only printed Copy there of those *Annales* in Fol. 1615, which has not any Corrections. I made these Enquiries, because one would always chuse to prove a Fact by Evidence, rather than by Argument; which last we have undeniably in this Case. For there never was any Edition of *Thuanus* in Twelve Tomes: That of *Drouart* in 12mo. is in Eleven Tomes: And in short, I have compared the 10th and 11th Tomes of that Edition, (which I have told you were not printed till the Year 1614, and contain the last 15 Books of 80,) I say I have compared them with the same last 15 Books of *Drouarts* Folio printed in 1609; and find several Passages de *Anglicis* et *Hibernicis*, (*Camden* might have added de *Scoticis*) interwoven into those two Volumes in 12mo. that are not in the said Folio. So that it is to be presumed, *Camden* designed to say 'Tomo suæ Historiæ Decimo et Undecimo, in Duodecimo. For that is true in Fact: And the Reason of my dwelling thus upon it, is, that our Readers may take Notice, at what Book of his History (of the several Editions I have hitherto specified) it was, that *Thuanus* began to make use, not of *Camden's* general Hints of Advice, but actually of his Collections in MS. in the Form King *James* had transmitted them to him by *Casaubon*.

Another Observation may, I think, be made naturally enough, upon what you have been reading of this Preface: *Camden* tells us, that the Use *Thuanus* made of his Papers, was, *paucula demendo, mutando, addendo*: He makes him the Compliment indeed of saying, that this was done *recto cum judicio*: But you have seen in *Casaubon's* Letters, that K. *James* had himself revised, amended, and affirmed for true, all that was sent by him to *Thuanus*: And is it to be thought, that a King, who was himself an Author, could be entirely satisfied with *Thuanus's* taking such Liberty of Judgment with the Memoirs he had furnished him? Might not this therefore be a Motive with that Prince, to order

order *Camden* to print forthwith so much of his *Annals* as had been perused by his Majesty, *i. e.* had been settled by his own Judgment and Will?

I will but touch briefly upon two Points more, and then take Leave of this Subject. 1. The *Nota in narrationem rerum gestarum* 1564, which Dr. *Smith* has put into the *Appendix* to *Camden's* Letters, and are by him attributed to *Camden*, are not his; but are *J. Casaubon's*, and in his Hand-writing; as Mr. *Casley*, who first gave me that Information, will satisfy any Person. I have the German Edition of *Tbuanus* to which those *Nota* refer, printed at *Offenbach*, and they shall be found in our Edition. 2. It has been made an Argument, that because *Camden* is quoted among the Authors who are named as *Tbuanus's* Vouchers, in the *Epitomes* or *Heads* of the Books of his History, and even in the first Volume, therefore *Camden* had furnished him with his Memoirs before that Volume was printed. But, besides that it sufficiently appears from the whole Correspondence between *Tbuanus* and *Casaubon*, that *Tbuanus* had not the Use of *Camden's* Collections before the Year 1611, whereas the first Volume of his History was first printed in 1604; it must be further observed, with Regard to the *Epitomes*, that they were not put to any Edition till that which the Author, a little before his Death in 1617, gave to be printed by *Rob. Stephens*. And here it may not be improper to take Notice, that in this Edition of the first Volume by *Rob. Stephens*, *Camdeni Annales* are not mentioned in the said *Epitomes*, but *Rob. Cottoni Commentarii non editi* are: Which may be easily accounted for, if we suppose that *Tbuanus* drew up the *Epitomes* during the Time that he believed those *Annals* were Sir Robert Cotton's; and that afterwards, when he knew them to be *Camden's*, he forgot to make the proper Alteration in those *Epitomes* before he put them to the Press; which Alteration however was rightly made, after his Death, by the Editors of the Geneva Edition; of whom I shall come to speak distinctly very soon.

It would be meer Weakness to argue, that because *Camden's* Name is mentioned in the 4th Book of the first Volume printed by *Patisson*, therefore *Tbuanus*

H

had

False. They are not by him attributed to Camden.

had a Correspondence with him before that Volume went to the Press. For *Thuanus* was then so little used, even to his Name, that he there calls him *John* instead of *William* Camden; and quotes him only for his *Britannia*, some Editions of which had been published several Years before *Thuanus's* first Volume.

Perhaps, Sir, you could have dispensed with some of the numerous *Extracts* that have drawn this Letter of mine into such a Length. In labouring to be thoroughly understood, one may say more than needs, and tire the Reader. But were it so, I am sure I can make you Amends, by one very short *Extract*, from a single Letter, on a new Subject; which is this.

In my former Letter to you, I gave a particular Account, That in 1616 *Thuanus* made his Will, in which speaking of *Pet. Puteanus* and *Nic. Rigaltius*, he says, *Historiarum mearum, quas ad Dei gloriam, & publicam utilitatem, sine Odio & Gratia, Deum ipsum testor & homines, conscripsi, paratam Editionem, si ante quam ipsa edatur moriar, iisdem committo.* That after the making of his Will, he gave his first Volume to be printed by *Rob. Stephens*, and died in 1617 while that Volume was in the Press. That in 1620 his History intire was printed at Geneva, and published with a Preface by *Mich. Lingelsheimius*, who therein says, *Summa omnium Expectatione sperabamus fore, ut quibus auctor testamento curam editionis operis sui incomparabilis injunxerat, Nicolaus Rigaltius et Petrus Puteanus, viri clarissimi, desiderio nostro satisfacerent: Sed quod auctor quodammodo præviderat, fore, ut iniquitas temporum impedimento esset, id ipsum in causa esse deprehendi cur illi editionem diutius premant prudentia publico detrimentosa. Ne igitur bono generis humani elaboratum opus diutius lateret, ego cui Thuanus ipse lubricationum suarum, paulo antequam excederet, descriptum ex autographo suo Exemplar habere permiserat, hoc amicitiae defuncti & utilitati publicæ debere me existimaui, ut dum differunt illi, et meliora tempora expectant, claustra effringerem, et luci darem opus. -----*

And then I argued (in my said former Letter) for the Probability of *Lingelsheim's* taking the secret Advice and Consent of *Puteanus* and *Rigaltius*, before he put to the Press his Copy of that pa-

ratu

rata Editio, which *Thuanns* by his Will appears to have left behind him. You may believe, Sir, that the most diligent Enquiry has been made in *France*, to learn whether that *parata Editio* were still in being, or what became of it: But not the least Intelligence of it could be obtained there. When I was at *Paris* last Spring, I inquired of *M. de la Monnoye* in particular, who was eminent for his critical Knowledge in Books, and had shewn peculiar Discernment and Exactness in many Articles of Literature that he furnished to *M. Bayle* for his Dictionary: But he could not give me any Light on this Subject: Nor could *Monf. l'Abbé de Thou*, the Grandson and I think the only Male-Descendant left of our Author, (a Gentleman whose Lineage may be traced conspicuously in his Learning and good Judgment, Worthiness of Mind, Moderation of Temper, and Affability) whom among others my Correspondent had before consulted. But after I had quite despaired of coming at the Truth of a Matter so considerable in itself; and so essential, to our Design of a new Edition, for the Learned to be fully satisfied in; I luckily found it out at last by Chance. For turning over, in another View, the Collection of Letters to and from *Ger. Jo. Vossius*, published (by the same *Paulus Colomesius*, whom I have quoted to you more than once,) in the Year 1690 at *London* in *Folio*, I met among the *Epist. claror. Virorum ad Vossium*, p. 17. a Letter dated *Heidelbergæ* 25 *Julii* 1618, from *Mich. Lingelsheimius* to *Hug. Grotius*; which would never have been placed among a Collection of Letters to *Vossius*, and been thereby preserved, had not a Piece written by *Vossius*, been so obscurely mentioned in it, tho' with Applause, as to give *Colomesius* an Opportunity of doing Honour to him, by specifying in a Note the Title of that Piece. The Name of *Lingelsheim* gave me a Curiosity to read that Letter through, and at the End I found this Passage; upon which *Colomesius* has not bestowed any Note.

Vellem animum adjiceres ad Historiam tuam promendam, quam negare diutius non debes nobis ac posteritati. De Thuani Historia nuncio tibi, reliqua jam sub prælo esse. Ut autem invidiam vitent Curatores, ita institutum est, quasi Exemplar ab auctore in Germaniam missum, jam promeretur. Excuditur autem Genevæ: qui locus tamen ob invidiam vitandam dissimulabitur.

Here Sir, you have the whole Secret out at once. The *Curatores*, (i. e. *Puteanus* and *Rigaltius*) sent to the Press the very *parata Editio* itself, that is, the perfect Copy of his History which had received *Thuanus's* last Hand, and was committed by his Will to *their care*. They caused it to be printed at *Geneva*, out of the Dominions of *France*; but because *Geneva* bore an odious Sound among the Catholics of that Kingdom, it was thought fit to put the feigned Name of another Place in the Title: And this was done, in Part of the Impression of 1620, which carries in the General Title *Aureliana* (*Orleans*), of which Sort there is a very fair Set on fine Paper in the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount *Townshend's* Library at *Raynham* in *Norfolk*; but (for what Reason I cannot say, nor is it material, it being sufficient to our Argument that Part of the Impression was done thus,) another Part of the same Edition bears in the General Title *Genevæ*, of which Sort I have one. Then the better to screen themselves, they concerted with *Lingelsheim* the taking upon him the Publication, as if it had been done from a Copy transmitted to him in *Germany*; which was a Scheme very natural for them to form among themselves, who were all conscious of *Thuanus's* Design to send a Transcript of his whole History to *Lingelsheim*, for securing one Copy of it against all Events; as by my former you have seen *Thuanus*, several Years before his Death, proposed to do: Now whether *Lingelsheim* had received an intire Transcript of the History, or whether *Thuanus* was surprized by Death before that was finished, does not appear: But what is better, and must certainly be much more satisfactory to the Publick, is, to see plainly by this Letter of *Lingelsheim's* to *Grotius*, that the Book was printed from the Copy which they, the *Curatores* themselves, furnish'd, that is, our Author's *parata Editio*; which has therefore never since been to be heard of in *France*; and which indeed *M. Puteanus* and *Rigaltius* took the best Way of putting out of the Reach of all that Inquiry they apprehended might be made of them about it.

I was led so near to the Truth, in my former Letter, by probable Conjectures raised on such Facts as had then fallen in my Way; that you will readily perceive, Sir, this Discovery of the Truth it self, does not make the least Alteration in any Part of my Plan, particularly not in that of making the *Geneva Edition*

dition of 1620 the Text or Ground-work of our new Edition : At the same Time, if you will be pleased to attend to the words *reliqua jam* in *Lingelsheim's* Letter, (which bears Date in *July* 1618) you will see it must have been very soon after *Thuanus's* Death (which was in *May* 1617) that *Puteanus* and *Rigaltius* conveyed away his perfect Copy to the Printer at *Geneva*; and that they could not have any Time then to make their Emendations to it, according to the Desire of *Thuanus* and the Trust reposed in them by his last Will. Those they made afterwards, are therefore the more valuable, being done leisurely and deliberately, as in my former is described.

And now, Sir, having perfect Day-Light before us, we may without Diffidence or Scruple, and with Truth and Modesty, assure the Publick, that we shall give them *Thuanus's* History compleat in all Respects. To render it no less useful than perfect, we will give authentick Interpretations of the Names of Persons and Places latinized by *Thuanus*, throughout his History; which have been always wanted; regretted, and wish'd for; and these so disposed, as that the Reader's Eye may at one Glance pass from the latinized Name in the Text, to the Vernacular Name in the Margin of every Page.

It is proper I should acquaint you, how I came by these Interpretations, and why I venture to call them authentick.

The Right Reverend Dr. *Edward Chandler* Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, was pleased after he had seen my first Letter to you, to send for me, and to acquaint me that he had formerly had the Perusal of a Set of *Thuanus* of the *Geneva* Edition of 1620, which belonged to the Library of the famous Bishop *Lloyd* of *Worcester*; and was once possessed by the Cardinal *de Retz* Archbishop of *Paris*: His Lordship had the Goodness to undertake to procure for me the Use of it, from the Relict of the late Dr. *William Lloyd*, Chancellour of the Diocess of *Worcester*, to whom the Bishop his Father had left it; and did accordingly prevail with her to send it up to his Lordship, who most obligingly put it into my Hands. It has in the Margin of every Volume, not only the Interpretations of the latinized Names, but Emendations, and Insertions, written in a very fair Hand.

At

At *Paris* my Correspondent transcribed the like Interpretations, &c. from the Margin of the last *Geneva* Edition (in 1626-30) of *Thuanus*, now by Inheritance in the Possession of the Abbot *de Thou*; this I saw at that Abbot's, who satisfied us those Interpretations, &c. were of *Pet. Puteanus's* own Handwriting; and that Writing, is very like, if not the same as, that in the Margin of Bp. *Lloyd's* Book: But be that as it will, the Interpretations are the same.

Use is made of both, for our Edition, and with great Advantage to it, by collating the one with the other.

You may be pleased to recollect, Sir, from my former, that *Pet. Puteanus* lived in constant Intimacy with *Thuanus* for Eighteen Years, till the Death of the latter; was the Companion of his Country Retirement and leisure Hours; enjoyed the free Communication of his Thoughts and of his Writings; and lastly, had the highest Trust an Author can repose in a Friend, that of correcting and publishing his Works, committed to him by *Thuanus's* Will. The Name of *Puteanus* is held in Veneration among the Learned, for the extensive Knowledge and Exactness he has shewn in his own Historical Compositions. Now as none but a Contemporary of *Thuanus*, well acquainted with him, and with the Transactions that passed in his own Time, which are recorded by *Thuanus* in a Language that so much disguises the vernacular Names, could give Interpretations of them that might be relied on; *Puteanus* had these particular Advantages to qualify him for such a Work: And to Him it is that the Publick will be obliged for the Interpretations that will illustrate our Edition.

Having accounted in this and my former Letter to you, for those capital Articles, which claim the principal Attention of an Undertaker of a new Edition of *Thuanus*; I will take Leave of you, for the present, with the Assurance of my remaining ever, with perfect Esteem and Respect,

S I R,

Your most obliged and most obedient humble Servant,

7 Dec. 1728,

Sam. Buckley,

